

ANTHONY KALDELLIS, STEPHANOS EFTHYMIADIS

THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF BYZANTINE LESBOS, 284–1355 A.D.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE BYZANTINE PROVINCE



ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
DENKSCHRIFTEN, 403. BAND

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR BYZANZFORSCHUNG

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
PETER SOUSTAL UND CHRISTIAN GASTGEBER

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Acknowledgments

The origin of this project lay in an exercise conducted by students in a seminar taught by Prof. Efthymiadis in the Department of Social Anthropology of the University of the Aegean (Mytilene), in the years 1997-1999. The students were assigned sources and instructed in the preparation of prosopographical entries. We must thank the President of the University at that time, Themistokles Lekkas, who secured supporting funds for that exercise. But only a handful of entries were begun then. The project gained momentum and clear purpose through collaboration with Prof. Kaldellis, who was investigating the early Christian and Byzantine history of the island of Lesbos. The latter is mostly responsible for the Early period and the Introduction, while Prof. Efthymiadis is mostly responsible for the Middle and the Late periods (whence the order of the names on the cover page). Yet each has corrected the other's work and so this must be seen as a joint effort and the fruit of a long-standing collaboration.

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March 2009

Anthony Kaldellis, Stephanos Efthymiadis

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--|--|
| AASS | Acta Sanctorum |
| <i>Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX</i> | Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX (1216-1227), ed. A.L. TAÛTU. Vatican City 1950. |
| ACO | Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. T. I, Concilium universale ephesenum, ed. E. SCHWARTZ. Berlin-Leipzig 1922-1925. |
| ACO II | Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. T. II, Concilium universale chalcedonense, ed. J. STRAUB. Berlin-Leipzig 1932. |
| Actes de Chilandar | Actes de Chilandar. Première partie. Actes grecs publiés par L. PETIT, VV Priloženie k' XVII tomu (1910). |
| Actes de Docheiariou | Actes de Docheiariou. Texte, éd. dipl. par N. OIKONOMIDES. <i>Archives de l'Athos</i> 13. Paris 1984. |
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| ADSG | <i>Acta graeca ss. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo</i> , ed. J. VAN DEN GHEYN (<i>BHG</i> 494). <i>AnBoll</i> 18 (1899) 209-259; ed. I.M. PHOUNTOULIS, Οἱ ὅσιοι αὐτάδελφοι Δαβίδ, Συμεὼν καὶ Γεώργιος οἱ ὁμολογηταί. <i>Lesbiakon Heortologion</i> . Athens 1961. |
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 της
 Aristoteles Graecus
 ARNALDI, Andrea Dandolo
 ASDRACHA, Inscriptions
 ASDRACHA, Les Rhodopes
 Athanasios I, *Letters*
 ATIYA, Crusade
 Attaleiates, *History*
 AUZÉPY, André de Crète
 AVRAMEA, Péloponnèse
 AXIOTES, Περπατώντας τη Λέσβο
 BAKKER and VAN GEMERT, Ἱστορία
 τοῦ Βελισαρίου
 BALARD, Paganino Doria
 BALARD, Romanie
 BALARD, The Genoese
 BALFOUR, Saint Gregory of Sinai
 BALLETO, Gattilusio
 BALLETO, Genova
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 BANDINI, Catalogus
 Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronographia*
 BARKER, Hospitallers
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CHRISTIDES, Conquest of Crete
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CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, Τὰ σφραγιστικά κατάλοιπα
Chronicon Bruxellense
Chronicon Regiense
Chronique de Morée
CHRYSOS, Entstehung
CIG
CIGGAAR, Western Travelers
CLASSEN, Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166
Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*
CONSTANTINIDES, Dionysios Arkas
CONSTANTINIDES, Higher Education
CONSTANTINIDES, Προσωπογραφικά της οικογένειας Φιλανθρωπηνών
COSENTINO, Prosopografia
COSTA, Sulla bataglia
COSTA-LOUILLET, Saints
COTSONIS, Saints and Cult Centers
COTSONIS and NESBITT, Antony II Kauleas
CUTLER and MAGDALINO, Precisions
DADE, Wiedererrichtung
Dandolo, *Chronica*
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INTRODUCTION

1. THE STUDY OF BYZANTINE PROVINCIAL SOCIETY

“Provinces” are always understood in relation to a political “center,” which may be an imperial, national, or ecclesiastical capital. Yet the provinces of the Byzantine empire have traditionally attracted the attention of historians because of their proximity to the frontier: the farther they are from the capital and the closer to the violence that characterizes militarized borders, the more central they become to narratives of military and political history, both contemporary and modern. The perhaps paradoxical result is that we know more about the people and history of, say, the Danube region than we do about the settled life of the peaceful provinces of the interior. This prosopography aims to cast some light on the society of the island of Lesbos during the Byzantine millennium, an island that was far from the imperial borders, comparatively rarely troubled by regular warfare or violence, and whose population was both large and generally homogeneous. It was a place that many Byzantines of high rank in both state and Church had visited, and it would have conformed to their ideal of untroubled Roman and Christian provincial society. It is worth studying for these reasons alone, though additional ones will be offered below.

Of course, in the eleven centuries covered here (284-1355), much changed in the Byzantine world, including the proximity of each province to the border and its importance in the overall articulation of the empire, whether political, economic, or religious.

In contrast to the middle and later periods of Byzantine history, when the supremacy of Constantinople was unquestioned and unrivaled, the Early period (284-642) appeared less centralized from a provincial point of view. To be sure, this period witnessed the rise of the highly bureaucratized and militarized state that we call the later Roman empire, and the gradual consolidation of central imperial power was an easily measurable fact. But before 395, the court was itinerant as the emperors did not normally reside in Rome or Constantinople, or in any one particular place. This mobile center of power was based in the provinces, as the emperors themselves were usually of provincial, indeed “backwater,” origin (Illyricum, Pannonia, Spain); their chief men and armies were likewise recruited among the most ruthless, able, or prestigious provincials; and their courts were held in cities from Antioch to the Balkans and the west. Rome itself, despite its central location and ideological status, was paradoxically relegated to the political margins, almost never hosting the court and governed by a militarily impotent aristocracy. Also, for the first sixty years of its existence, Constantinople was largely neglected. This “provincialization” of the “center” contributed greatly to the concurrent Romanization of the provinces (on which, see below). Whereas in the early 3rd century the majority of the inhabitants of Lesbos would have considered themselves Greeks living under Roman dominion, by the beginning or middle of the fifth they would have considered themselves no less Roman than anyone else in the empire, their Hellenism relegated to the cultural or religious or even strictly linguistic sphere.

Even after the late 4th century, when Constantinople began to assert and consolidate its supremacy, the empire was still by no means as unifocal as it would become after the 7th century. Lesbos was surrounded by great cities (in Greece, Thrace, and Asia Minor) that continued to flourish. Moreover, other “capitals” such as Antioch and Alexandria would have competed with the new capital in educational and economic terms. The island’s commercial links with Egypt and the Near East dated to ancient times, and its wine and famous blue marble were known throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, up to and beyond the age of Justinian, Lesbos was characterized by religious division and dissent. Paganism flourished until quite late, and heresiarchs of various brands of Neo-Arianism and then Monophysitism (e.g., Aetios, Zacharias of Mytilene, Iakovos Baradaios) personally dominated its official church and disobeyed the directives emanating from Constantinople. By 600 the new center had evidently not yet established its monopoly on power. But all that changed in the aftermath of the Persian wars and the Arab conquests.

After the 7th century, the Byzantine empire took on the character of a vast city-state. Henceforth Constantinople dominates our sources, and with reason. It was the largest city in Christendom, the residence of the emperors and therefore the center of government, the see of the ecumenical patriarch, and the home of the most impressive collection of relics, classical art, and architectural wonders in the world. Its historical

importance, moreover, was demonstrated in its relationship to the lands that it controlled. The Byzantine provinces, from Italy to Mesopotamia, were closely bound to Constantinople through institutions whose hierarchies always culminated in the capital. Almost all aspects of life were governed by these institutions, whose effect was the creation and maintenance of a strong and unified Roman identity across the majority of the population. The army was governed from the center, stationed on the frontier, and recruited in the provinces (though in some periods foreign mercenaries were important). The Church established a parallel grid of religious uniformity encompassing belief, ritual, and art, and directed provincial loyalty to the dual authority of emperor and patriarch (a few regions were in theory autonomous, but in practice firmly dependent on Constantinople). Social hierarchy in the provinces mirrored that of the capital and, for the most fortunate or ambitious, led directly to it. Above all, a vast and (by ancient and medieval standards) efficient administration emanating from the capital labored to impose a single code of law, taxation, and bureaucracy. The actual degree of its practical success, greater than is often realized, is less important here than its monopoly over ideological authority in provincial society. In the “core” regions of the empire, Byzantine provincials spoke the same language, prayed in the same church, followed the same laws, obeyed the same magistrates and emperor, operated in the same society, served in the same army, shared the same calendar, weights and measures, coins, courts, and official documents as every other Byzantine elsewhere; moreover, they *knew* that they had these things in common with Byzantines elsewhere and believed that they were all Romans by virtue of the fact that they did so, thereby making Byzantium the most unified imagined community of its size in the medieval world, in both social practice and ideological commitment.

This is a broad and relative conclusion and not meant to suggest that there was not real diversity in all aspects of life and throughout all periods. At times there were many minorities, often whole regions of conquered people that did not “fit in” well and eventually went their own way; moreover, the mechanics of assimilation were complex and sometimes painful. But what it means to call a certain region “a Byzantine province” will remain murky unless we recognize the fact of Byzantine coherence: this was not a federated society held together by formal loyalty to a symbolic figure (like the Holy Roman Empire) or a multi-ethnic empire in which one group was understood to exercise dominion over many others who were defined by their different histories, faiths, and customs, and designated by separate ethnonyms (as in the Persian, Ottoman, and early Roman empires). The Byzantine “center” was, in one sense, Constantinople; but it was so only because it represented and activated the ideological consensus that held sway throughout the provinces and that had been confirmed by the passage of centuries.

Given this degree of unity, the emphasis on the capital in our sources and in modern studies is understandable, for in general the center led and the periphery followed. After all, to a remarkable extent the policy-makers and officials of the capital were themselves of provincial origin. They did not come from a dominant caste, fixed social class, or ethnic group, for such things were not recognized among Romans as the rights of citizenship were horizontally extended, making provincials theoretically equal to native Constantinopolitans (however the latter were defined). Therefore, what went on in Constantinople in a very real sense gave historical and institutional expression to the broad consensus of Roman provincial society.

There is another reason why the Byzantine provinces have not yet been made the direct object of study. A chief impetus for the study of provincial society in modern times is the interest in relatively distinct ethnic or cultural groups: hence one studies “the Celts” or “the Greeks” living “under” the Roman empire; likewise Serbs or Greeks living under the Ottomans, and so on. But Byzantium is not amenable to such ethnic breakup. The Bulgarians were included for a while without being treated as full Romans, and at times there were also Italian, Slavic, Armenian, Iranian, and Arab minorities. But the vast majority of the population remained undifferentiated as Roman, Greek-speaking, and Orthodox. This was even more true in the Aegean islands than on mainland Greece, Thrace, and Asia Minor, which witnessed, at times, the passage, settlement, and assimilation of many new peoples. Vast research has been directed toward those groups, spurred largely by the national or ethnic interests of modern historians. So Slavs and Jews have received disproportionately greater attention than Goths, Iranians, and Pechenegs, to name but a few who came in great numbers but were assimilated out of historical existence; conversely, almost no one is interested in ancient peoples like the Thracians or Phrygians who did not survive to found modern states. This interest in the pre-modern history of modern peoples has left the majority of the provincial Byzantine population, the millions of “insiders” against whom “outsiders” were defined, in the dark. And yet even in the darkest days

of the 8th century the islands constituted a population reservoir from which the capital and other lands were repopulated.¹

How have historians studied Byzantine provincial society? We may identify various categories of research that have so far dominated the field. The first are frontier studies. These focus on the militarized regions of the Balkans (usually the Danube) and Anatolia. Their emphasis is on military history and the army (a central institution), Byzantine dealings with tribes and chiefs beyond the border (however the latter was understood at different times), the purpose of fortifications, the settlement of barbarians, and in addition on religious minorities and dissidents such as the Paulikians and Bogomils. These studies have little to say about relatively peaceful and stable regions such as the Aegean islands and western Asia Minor.

Second, a major advance in the study of the provinces has been the Austrian-directed and ongoing project *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Each of the dozen volumes that have appeared so far concentrates on a specific region and consists mostly of an alphabetical gazetteer of places with entries on cities, villages, and landmarks that cite all relevant Byzantine sources and modern studies. Each is also prefaced by an extensive introduction on the geography, history, administration, and economy of the region. This focus on long-term structures, however, allows little room for the *people* who actually lived there. The *Tabula* volumes do mention important bishops and governors, but make no concerted effort to reconstruct the prosopography of provincial society. This is the one element so far missing from our overall picture that the present study aims to restore.

Third, thanks to a handful of individual pioneers and institutions, Byzantine archaeology has now emerged as a field in its own right, though in most regions it is still overshadowed by the imperatives of classical archaeology. The destruction of the material infrastructure of Constantinople has led in this subfield to a reversal of the usual polarity of Byzantine studies. Whereas Constantinople looms large in the study of manuscripts, icons, and even ecclesiastical architecture, when it comes to daily life, housing, and industry and trade, the provinces take the lead.² Much work remains to be done, however. Information is still pouring in and little has yet been done by way of synthesis. Moreover, intensive work has been concentrated at specific sites (e.g., Amorion) or regions (e.g., eastern Makedonia in the later period), while the majority of Byzantine territory is still in the dark. Excepting Anthony Kaldellis' survey of the early Byzantine settlements and churches of Lesbos (which is likely to remain unpublished), no systematic work has been carried out on that island. Nevertheless, we hope that our prosopographical findings will help to contribute the human dimension to future reconstructions of provincial society: Who lived in the houses excavated by archaeologists? To whom did they sell their wares?

A fourth category of relevant research is local antiquarianism, which is widely practiced in Greece and on Lesbos in particular (and often the works of professional scholars are likewise inspired by regional attachments). These publications are rarely accessible outside the region in question and are often unreliable from a scholarly point of view, but they should not be dismissed out of hand. Most importantly, they provide information on sites and monuments that might have remained unknown otherwise, especially regarding their history and use during the past three hundred years or so. Epistemologically, these works occupy a curious no-man's land between "primary" and "secondary" sources and are accessible only to scholars "in the field." Though they have not supplied any individuals to this prosopography whom we would not otherwise have known from proper historical sources (and sometimes they have invented people whom we have demoted to their rightful status as legends), we have still consulted them over the years, especially regarding the location and history of monuments. On that basis, we urge the future historians of the Byzantine province to grant them careful consideration.

Finally, various scholars have written the history of a particular city or region throughout Byzantine times, or paid detailed attention to the workings of a particular provincial society in a more limited period. As an early example of the first category we may cite F. GREGOROVIVUS' *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* and AHRWEILER'S study of Smyrne - for specific cities (see bibl.); then there are studies of regions such as D. TSOUGARAKIS' *Byzantine Crete from the 5th Century to the Venetian Conquest* (Athens 1988); and A. AVRAMEÁ'S *Le Péloponnèse du IV^e au VIII^e siècle: Changements et persistances* (Paris 1997). (These are only examples; more works in each category could be cited.) These synthetic works pull

¹ Nikephoros, *Short History* 68, ed. MANGO 140-141; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. DE BOOR 429.22 ff.

² See, for instance, the papers on the Symposium on the Byzantine Family and Household, published in *DOP* 44 (1990) 97-226.

together a variety of sources, including literary, documentary, and archaeological, but contain many gaps for periods that produced few or no sources or different kind of information about different periods, and thus the result is inevitably uneven coverage. Also, in their effort to tease out all the relevant information regarding their specific area of focus they do not pay much attention to the problem of provincial society *as such*, in other words they are more interested in the history of this or that particular place than in the mechanisms of Byzantine provincial society in general. A proper study of the latter would accordingly have to consult many such books. It should also be noted that among the literary sources, saints' lives are the common denominator for illuminating life in the provinces, but their distribution fluctuates widely in both time and space. Often there are none at all to show, and in principle it is unwise to base general conclusions upon a single text of this kind.

This leads us to the second category of regional studies mentioned above, those which are made possible by the chance survival of extensive material relating to a particular region at one time. Of course, students of late antiquity are especially fortunate here, even though conditions in many provinces were considerably more complex then than during later Byzantine centuries (say, from 640 to 1204), largely because the earlier period witnessed the birth of Byzantine institutions and was characterized by greater religious and ethnic diversity. It has accordingly attracted more attention. Egypt is illuminated by papyri more brightly than any other province is by any other kind of source (then or later), and a rich literary tradition exists for Syria and areas of Asia Minor as well. Antioch can be studied in detail through the works of Libanios and others (in fact, many monographs on the later Roman empire are in fact studies of Antioch in disguise). After late antiquity, we have to wait for relatively "modern" times to obtain the same level of detail, with the possible exception of southern Italy, for which we can sometimes rely on a combination of chronicles, saints' lives, and official documents. As for the later period, the legal dossiers of Ioannes Apokaukos and Demetrios Chomatenos in the early 13th century make possible studies such as A. KIOUSSOPOULOU's *Ο θεσμός της οικογένειας στην Ήπειρο κατά τον 13^ο αιώνα* (Athens 1990), while the Athos archives enabled A.E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS to examine Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study (Princeton 1977).

Obviously, in one sense it is easier to simply go where the sources are, though working with papyri and monastic archives is certainly less popular (because more onerous and less exciting) than dealing with literary sources. But is certainly more rewarding for the social historian. The results of such intensive and focused work benefit from their broader evidentiary basis and can lay claim to the status of social science. Still, there is value in synthetic works too, especially if they are focused on a particular theme, period, or region. L. Neville has recently brought together a variety of sources in order to discuss Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950-1100 (Cambridge 2004), focusing mostly on mainland Greece. This is the first study of provincial society as such, is highly stimulating, and deserves to spark further discussion.³

2. THE POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF LESBOS, 284-1355 A.D.

Only three of the original six Aeolian cities of Lesbos survived to the Roman period: Mytilene, Methymna, and Eresos. The territory of the island was divided up among them, and Mytilene certainly possessed holdings on the mainland of Asia Minor as well. Archaeology demonstrates the existence of many villages throughout Lesbos, especially its eastern half, and those villages would have been politically subordinate to the cities. After the reforms of Diocletian, Lesbos belonged to the (non-military) Province of the Islands, along with most of the other islands of the Aegean. The governor's seat was apparently at Rhodes. This Province belonged to the Diocese of Asia, which included much of Asia Minor and which in turn belonged

³ For example, Neville's assumption that bureaucracy and personal relations are incompatible is problematic (modern Greece is one of the most bureaucratized nations, but also one in which personal connections are most effective). Also, she presents incidents of violence as typical, but it is possible that they were reported in our sources because they were extraordinary (cf. the nightly news in the U.S.). More work will have to be done in these areas, as well as on the institutional ties that linked the center to the periphery and on the ideological unity of Byzantine Romania. Neville deserves credit for being the first to take on this very difficult topic with a synthetic methodology.

to the Prefecture of the East, whose prefect resided for the most part in Constantinople. In 535-536, Justinian detached five provinces from the Prefecture of the East to form the *quaestura exercitus* (under a *quaestor exercitus*); according to this schema, three non-military provinces (Islands, Karia, and Cyprus) provisioned the armies of two militarized Thracian provinces (Mysia II and Skythia).

A bishop is attested for Mytilene by 359. By the early 5th century, the holder of this office was exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole of Lesbos, the nearby islets, the mainland holdings of Mytilene, as well as the island of Tenedos (which, in the 4th century, had a bishop of its own and was briefly detached from Lesbos in 431 by Nestorios, the patriarch of Constantinople). These peripheral areas would have been served by subordinate priests who sometimes bore the title of *chorepiskopoi*. By 536 the bishop of Mytilene had attained the rank of metropolitan, but a separate bishop for Methymna is attested by 520, indicating the expansion of Christianity to the north of the island.

The history of Lesbos in the general context of imperial administration is unclear for the troubled years of the late 7th and 8th centuries. Before they were eventually grouped into themes, some islands seem to have been placed under the command of *droungarioi*, officers linked to the reorganization of the fleet to meet the new dangers. Arabs raided the Aegean extensively in the seventh through ninth centuries, though Lesbos is specifically mentioned as a target only in the ninth. Called *Mitylene* in Byzantine times, the island was placed under the *droungarios* of the Aegean, an office attested by the 9th century (though probably older) and including under its jurisdiction most of the northeastern Aegean (bordering to the south on the territory of the *droungarios* of the Dodekanese). In the mid-9th century, this formation was made into a theme (of the Aegean Sea) and its *droungarios* was upgraded to a *strategos*, though we do not know where his base was. The theme included most of the islands of the north and central Aegean and bordered to the south on the theme of Samos and the theme of the Kibyrrhaiotai (the latter including Rhodes). Tax-collection seems to have been the province of the *dioiketes*, a number of whom are attested for Mytilene and other islands. Mytilene seems to have been a naval base of some importance; it was used in 821 by Thomas the Slav in his attack on the capital as well as by many Byzantine admirals of the 10th century, especially in their operations against the Arabs of Crete. These armadas were often large and must have entailed the passage through the island of many thousands of now anonymous sailors, soldiers, and officials.

The well-known process of subdivision and multiplication of themes affected also the theme of the Aegean Sea. A theme of the Cyclades had been formed by the early 970s and a theme of Chios by 1025. By now the jurisdiction of the *strategos* of the Aegean included little more than Lesbos, Lemnos, and Skyros, in other words the very territory that had been commanded by his predecessor, the *droungarios*. At this time, civil administration was in the hands of the *kritai*, some of whom are attested for the 11th century and who seem to have attained a higher rank or at any rate a greater importance than the *strategos* himself. But the decline of the theme system and the rise of the Komnenoi dynasty led to major administrative changes. For the Aegean region, at any rate, these were surely occasioned by the war with the Turkish emir Tzachas, who, in the late 11th century, attacked and temporarily held Chios and Mytilene from his base in Smyrne. *Strategoï* were now replaced with *doukai* who combined military and civilian authority over major individual islands. As the Komnenoi regime lasted for less than a century before being overtaken by the disturbances at the end of the 12th century and, ultimately, the Fourth Crusade, few *doukai* are attested and none specifically for Lesbos, though it is plausible to suppose that they continued to be appointed throughout this period. In this period, Aegean islands including Lesbos were subject to raids by Italian fleets and probably suffered because of the intermittent warfare among the Italians and between them and the Byzantines.

Throughout the Middle Byzantine period, the sees of Mytilene and Methymna held the status of autocephalous archbishoprics. The *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* ascribe to the archbishop of Mytilene five suffragan bishops: Eresos, Strongyle (possibly near modern Polichnitos), Tenedos, Berbinon (unknown), and Perperine (across the straights in the *peraia*, territory under the jurisdiction of Mytilene). By the 12th century, at the latest, he had acquired another: Hiera (modern Gera). Unfortunately, the names of none of these suffragan bishops have survived, with one possible exception (see the new episcopal lists in the appendix). Toward the end of the 11th century, the bishop of Methymna was also elevated to the rank of a metropolitan.

According to the terms of the partition of the empire among the Crusaders, the Latin emperor of Constantinople would receive Lesbos along with most of the islands of the former theme of the Aegean. It is likely that his authority was in fact asserted, as we are told that the emperor of Nikaia Ioannes III Vatatzes

claimed the island for the Byzantines in the mid-1220s. The Latins apparently merged the sees of Mytilene and Methymna, though it is not clear whether the bishops appointed to it resided there or were merely titular. The Byzantine reconquest presumably restored the previous ecclesiastical order.

The late 13th and early 14th centuries witnessed increasing military instability and the non-systematic, personality-based provincial administration of the Palaiologoi emperors. In the early 1270s, Lesbos along with Rhodes was given as a *pronoia* by Michael VIII Palaiologos to his brother, the *despotes* Ioannes. We do not know how long this arrangement lasted and what followed it. In the early 14th century, the see of Methymna was temporarily given over (*kat' epidosin*) to the bishop of Crete Nikephoros Moschopoulos and then to the bishop of Sardis Kyrillos. After being raided by Catalans, Venetians, Turks, and the Aragonese fleet, and nearly conquered in 1335 by the lord of New Phokaia Domenico Cattaneo, in 1355 Lesbos was given as dowry by Ioannes V Palaiologos to Francesco Gattilusio, who married the emperor's sister. He was to rule the island in the emperor's name for thirty years; his dynasty lasted until 1462.

Bibliography: for the Hellenistic and early Roman history of Lesbos, see LABARRE, *Cités des Lesbos*; for the Roman and early Byzantine period, KALDELLIS, Λέσβος; for the entire Byzantine period, KODER, Aigaion, and LOUIZIDIS, Η Βυζαντινή Λέσβος; for the 8th through 12th centuries, MALAMUT, *Les îles de l'empire byzantine*; for a dense summary of administrative changes in the Middle period, *CBSDO* 109-111; for the numismatic evidence, NIKOLAOU, *Numismatic Circulation*; for an overview of the islands in the Late period, HROCHOVA, *Les îles à l'époque tardive*.

3. THE PLAN OF THIS PROSOPOGRAPHY

Why Lesbos? Lesbos is the largest island of the Aegean Sea (barring Euboia) and its population must have amounted at any time in the tens of thousands. As a provincial society, then, it was substantial and representative of regions not on the empire's land frontier. Moreover, islands have a natural advantage when it comes to this kind of project, as they are clearly defined from a geographical point of view. This means that it is usually easy to decide whom to include and whom to exclude (basically any individual known to have set foot on the island), making our sample fairly precise. We have also included individuals who set out for Lesbos but failed to reach it for whatever reason. We felt that despite their physical absence they are representative of the *kind* of people who visited the island in each period. We have so little evidence to go on otherwise that it would be wrong to exclude them on a mere technicality.

Why a prosopography? In principle, it is unnecessary to justify an enterprise that gathers together so much critical information about a place that has been of such importance to the history of Greece from prehistoric times to the present. It is impossible for us to predict the various ways in which it may aid in the researches of future historians. And yet a partial justification may be offered within the parameters of Byzantine prosopography. The uses and limitations of every prosopography depend, of course, on the way in which the criteria for inclusion are defined. For example, one may focus on a certain profession in a limited time-frame and use prosopographical data to supplement an inquiry into cultural and institutional history, as for instance in R. KASTER'S *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (California 1988). Many prosopographies have been devoted to imperial or aristocratic families, tracing their histories over the centuries, e.g., the Doukai (D. POLEMIS); the Skleroi (W. SEIBT); the Argyroi (J.-F. VANNIER); and the Komnenoi (K. BARZOS). These works stem from, and are meant to contribute to, the narrative reconstruction of Byzantine history at the highest levels of power. Byzantine prosopographies traditionally have a political bias, as in the two completed multi-volume series (covering the later Roman empire in English and the Palaiologan period in German) and in the ongoing projects covering the Middle period (in both German and English). These are reference works and are enormously useful, whatever objections one may raise regarding their organization and interpretation.⁴ But they are not comprehensive as they reflect a historical and political bias (in many cases excluding clergy and politically "insignificant" people); and they make no attempt to analyze their extensive data.

⁴ The points made by W. TREADGOLD in *Speculum* 78 (2003) 945-949 must be given consideration. See also WHITTON, *Everything you always wanted to know*.

Our work, though certainly modest by comparison, focuses on a region rather than the political careers of individuals themselves. We have included all social levels, all places of origin, and all careers, both lay and secular; in this we have aimed to be as comprehensive as possible. We have not limited our scope to men who “made history” and who are mentioned in narrative reconstructions; in fact, the vast majority of our entries are men and women who have never been mentioned in any such book. The information in our entries is more detailed when it comes to the dealings of each person with Lesbos than regarding his or her career otherwise (e.g., in the cases of the former empress Eirene and the future emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos). This is the first such comprehensive prosopography of a Greek island and probably of any comparable region in Byzantine Greece.⁵ Its utility is limited in obvious ways. Though local society is illuminated in many ways, the data does not allow us to reconstruct long-term family histories or the continuity of local factions and alliances, both of which are possible (to a degree) in the more imperially-focused standard prosopographies mentioned above. Nor does our catalogue of just under 300 individuals constitute a “snap-shot” of local society at any specific moment, as they are spread out over the eleven hundred years, during which much changed. Nevertheless, our sample, when looked at carefully, yields information about local and insular society that would otherwise have remained in obscurity.

A word now must be said on the mechanics of each entry and the overall organization of the work.

The entries are largely self-explanatory. The personal names that head the entries are, for the most part, spelled according to the most direct transliteration of their forms in the native language of the individual in question. (The era when historians Latinized and Anglicized Byzantine names is rapidly coming to a close.) There follow in parentheses variant spellings following the sources where the name appears, which may not be in Greek. The date (exact or approximate) is followed by a brief biographical entry focusing on the individual’s activities on Lesbos. We then cite all the primary sources and quote the relevant passages in the original (if they are in Greek or Latin) or in translation (for other languages). Unless otherwise noted, a text is cited after the most recent edition and the grammatical subject of the quoted selection is the individual in question (otherwise we have specified who it is). We have been selective in citing translations of primary sources, restricting ourselves to scholarly annotated translations in western languages. In some cases, when an individual’s activities on Lesbos are described extensively, we have usually quoted only a few key sentences of the texts. Also we cite as Related Sources texts referring to the same incident, yet not mentioning Lesbos or the specific person. We have tacitly corrected spelling errors and misprints in the cited editions. The last item in each entry cites the relevant modern scholarship.

Emperors and ecclesiastics are included under their first (Christian) names, not their nicknames or family names. Anonymous individuals are included only if they are specific figures who performed specific actions, only their names happen not to be mentioned. We have not speculated, for instance, that each local figure probably had parents who were likewise locals and who should then be included, and so on. The format of this (and any other) prosopography necessarily excludes groups among whom no individual stands out in the sources, such as the Vandals, Arabs, Venetians, and others who attacked the island at various times. Population movements, whether to the capital (e.g., under orders by Konstantinos V in the 8th century) or groups of ethnic mercenaries stationed there (e.g., by Andronikos II Palaiologos) or considering to settle in there (e.g., the Catalans after the death of their leader Roger de Flor) have also not been included. Certainly, these groups had commanders, lieutenants, and common soldiers, as the raiders had rowers and victims, but such speculation is perilous in a work of this kind. We have stuck closely to the evidence of the sources. One final category of “ghost” figures who have not been included are the messengers and travelers who must have delivered the documents upon which were affixed the lead seals that have been found at various locations on the island. We have used the evidence of seals only when their owners must have held a relevant post (see below). In two cases we have assigned multiple persons to one entry: five women, allegedly martyred (no. 170); and a number of monks from Constantinople up to no good (no. 290). At the end of part III, on the later period, we have included a brief appendix with individuals who had every intention of traveling to Lesbos, but were prevented from reaching it for reasons beyond their control. We felt in these cases that to insist on the criterion of “setting foot on the island” was excessively pedantic, and that these persons contribute to our overall sense of the *kind* of people who were likely to go to Lesbos in this period.

⁵ SAVVIDES, *Maritime Theme of Samos*, deals only with high officials. A full-scale endeavor has been made only with regard to Byzantine Italy: see COSENTINO, *Prosopografia*.

We have not included Thomas the Slav, who rebelled against Michael II in 820, because as far as we know he never actually set foot on Lesbos. The main narrative sources state that he assembled his naval forces there in preparation for his attack on Constantinople, but imply that he himself remained in his bases in Asia Minor and took the land route to the capital.⁶ On similar grounds, we have excluded the *megas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos who followed Andronikos III Palaiologos in his campaign against Domenico Cattaneo, conqueror of Lesbos in ca. 1333-1336, but does not mention in his own historiographical account that he set foot on the island.⁷ Likewise, we have not included figures who are certainly legendary and attested in much later sources, such as a certain Valerios Konstantinos (according to a later inscription placed above the entrance of the church of the Virgin at Agiassos, he was allegedly the governor of the island in the 12th century).⁸ We have not included persons who are attested on Lesbos for periods after 1355 but about whom it could reasonably be conjectured that they were connected with the island before 1355; such persons could likely be found in the later Genoese material, as well as in Byzantine administrative sources, such as the Leontios attested in an income list dated by indiction to 1361, 1376, or 1391.⁹ Finally, we also left out members of the family of Mitylenaioi, who were in prominence mostly in the 11th century, as well as the 14th century *paroikoi* with that name (or derivative names).¹⁰ Apart from the fact that these names may have initially come from Lesbos, we have not been able to detect any personal association on the part of specific individuals with the island.

Finally, a note on periodization. We have chosen 284 as the beginning of our period because that was when the administrative structures characteristic of the early Byzantine empire began to be instituted. Also, we wished to include the evidence of the Diocletianic tax-inscriptions, which date to the broader period that includes his reign and the reigns of his successors. We chose to end with 1355 because after then the island came under Genoese rule, which generated an enormous mass of official documentation that is kept in Genova. Tackling this body of evidence would involve a work at least as laborious as this one. Despite being nominally under the Byzantine crown, the period of Genoese rule deserves separate treatment by specialist scholars in that field.

For convenience and historical coherence, we have divided our data into three periods: from 284 to 642; from 642 to 1204; and from 1204 to 1355. Happily, these coincide with major historical breaks: the end of late antiquity and the rise of Islam; the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade; and the end of direct Byzantine rule on the island. It also happens that in our prosopography there is no overlap between any of these three periods, so we did not have to decide which ought to claim a figure whose life bridged a break.

Bibliography: For the ideological aims and limitations of early prosopographies, see L. STONE, *Prosopography*. *Daedalus* 100 (1971) 46-79. For prosopography and religious history, see M.F. BASLEZ and F. PREVOT, ed., *Prosopographie et histoire religieuse: Actes du colloque tenu en Université Paris XII-Val de Marne les 27 et 28 Octobre 2000*. (Paris 2005). For the history and aims of Byzantine prosopography, see AV. CAMERON, *Prosopography*.

4. THE MAIN SOURCES

It must be stressed again that the present prosopography does not constitute a snap-shot of insular society at any particular time, as its almost three hundred entries are spread out over the course of more than a thousand years. Nor does it necessarily offer a representative image of the classes that made up that society in the long run, for the survival of our information is premised on its purely fortuitous inclusion in this or that source and dependent on the changing nature of those sources over time. We are entirely at their mercy here. If we wanted to study the political classes active in Constantinople, the ranks of provincial bishops, or the feats of the saints across the empire, we could count on the existence of a large body of sources whose

⁶ Theophanes Continuatus, ed. BEKKER 55; Genesios, *On the Reigns* 2.5, ed. LESMÜLLER-WERNER and THURN 26; and Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. THURN 32.

⁷ From his narrative it can be inferred that he was more familiar with Old Phokaia than with Lesbos.

⁸ See KALDELLIS, Notes 65-66.

⁹ See SCHREINER, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 245-247 (text 49, line 6).

¹⁰ See *PLP* 18140-18150 and the names Μητυληνῶκωστα and Μητυληναίου attested in doc. 98 of the *Actes de Vatopédi* II 220-221.

purpose was to tell us just what we wanted to know. But none of the texts that we have used here was generated with the purpose of informing anyone as to what was happening on Lesbos and who was going there and for what reason. We have had to cast our nets widely and, to study the evolution of provincial society during the millennium, we have drawn information from a wide variety of sources.

It should come as no surprise that some types of sources are more prevalent in one period and then more or less disappear thereafter.¹¹ For example, epigraphy easily dominates the Early period but then falls almost completely silent. Lead seals and hagiography illuminate only the Middle period, while patriarchal and notarial documents survive almost entirely from the later period. The only category of source that provides consistent evidence for all three periods are the acts and signatures of ecclesiastical councils, both Ecumenical and local synods.

The following entries are brief guides to the main sources we have used.

Inscriptions. Inscriptions are prominent as sources for this prosopography almost entirely for the Early period, and represent the final phase of the ancient “epigraphic habit.” In fact, the vast majority of people known from antiquity outside of Egypt are known from inscriptions, which are mostly funerary, but many record information about social, economic, and religious status. There are two categories of inscriptions from late antique Lesbos, the “Diocletianic” property declarations and dedications made in early Christian churches. The former, six in number, were produced by the system of taxation devised by that emperor and his colleagues and successors in order to more effectively squeeze their subjects’ resources at a time of vastly increased state expenditures (see, in general, KALDELLIS, Λέσβος, 115-118, citing the relevant bibliography). Though this system changed over time and was not applied everywhere uniformly, the inscriptions from Lesbos provide rare and important evidence for how it worked. Each lists the taxable property of a landowner whose holdings were apparently scattered in different locations on the island. Along with specifications as to the kind of land and produce involved, these entries listed the free farmers who worked there as well as, in some instances, the number of slaves (though only the names of the former are given). These documents tell us less about agricultural and pastoral life on Lesbos in late antiquity than about the way it was perceived and surveyed by the state. In the process, they tell us the names of many farmers and the names of the plots of land that they farmed or their location, some of which have survived with very little change from antiquity to the present. This kind of evidence is quite rare and not matched in later times before the documents of the patriarchal archives, which record land disputes.

The second category of epigraphic evidence comes from dedicatory notices inscribed or laid down in mosaic in the early Christian churches of Lesbos, of which there were quite a few dozen. Most were found in the course of the archaeological discovery of the island’s largest basilicas (e.g., at Argala, Ypsilometopo, and the two at Eresos), and it seems that each individual notice was placed in a different position inside the church and often specified what part of the overall construction each person had endowed. Clerics, bishops, lay individuals and couples, and former imperial officials are all attested, revealing the participation of all segments of high society in the construction boom that began around 500 A.D. and turned a staunchly pagan island into a thriving Christian center. This boom lasted for over a century, as churches stopped being built during the 7th century and we have very few inscriptions.¹² Since almost no churches survive in Lesbos from the Middle Byzantine period, one category of source for prosopography that is elsewhere very fruitful, namely the names of donors, is altogether lacking here.

Finally, the individuals attested in both categories of epigraphic sources, in contrast to those attested in other kinds of sources (see below), are of purely local significance. With the possible exception of the bishop Ioannes, none can be proven to have ever left the island or played any role in events that transpired elsewhere. In this respect, then, these sources provide us with the most “authentic” natives of the island.

Historiography. Whatever one may say about the literature of Byzantium in general, its historians were top-rate and compare favorably to their ancient models and more so to their western and even eastern counterparts. Granted, their topic was usually cut out for them: to follow the fortunes of the Byzantine State or Church through a set number of years. The institutions themselves, and the careers of the men who led

¹¹ See the inventory of persons in Appendix III.

¹² See, in general, KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-192, citing the relevant bibliography.

them in the capital, defined the parameters of each *History*. There are, therefore, few Byzantine “monographs” devoted to secondary regions or events, for instance Ioannes Kameniates and Eustathios of Thessalonike’s narratives of the dramatic disasters that befell the empire’s second-largest city in 904 and 1185 respectively. No such work survives devoted to Lesbos (or any other provincial region of comparable size) and it is unlikely that any was in fact ever written. This means that the level of incidence of a certain location in Byzantine historical works will tend to reflect its importance for the capital and for the wars being waged on the frontiers, the two areas on which Byzantine historians concentrated. To be sure, Lesbos was a large place and so it is statistically certain to appear here and there, either because some important person happened to go there for a while or because one of its native sons did something memorable somewhere else. An example of the latter is the eunuch Thomas mentioned by Ioannes Kinnamos (12th century), who made his fortune in Constantinople, climbing from the street up to the palace. As an example of the former type of reference, we may cite the paragraph that survives among the fragments of the ecclesiastical historian Philostorgios (5th century): his hero, the heretic Aetios, had been given land on the island by his friend the emperor Julian, which set into motion a train of events that brought no fewer than five individuals to the pages of this prosopography. Such windfalls are accidental and do not fall into any kind of pattern.

The majority of our historiographical citations do fall into patterns, however. From Theophanes to Michael Psellos and Ioannes Skylitzes, Lesbos and its two main towns of Mytilene and Methymna are mentioned mostly as a place of exile. In short, again the incidence of its citation is dependent upon its importance to events in the capital, mainly political intrigue and change of government. The turning point comes in the late 11th century, with Anna Komnene’s detailed account of Tzachas’ attack and occupation of the fort of Mytilene which was followed by a Byzantine counter-attack. The island is now viewed not from the point of view of the palace but from that of the frontiers, as it actually became a contested frontier after the Turkish conquest of most of Asia Minor. Anna’s account of the naval and siege operations around the fort of Mytilene take the place of events that in earlier historians had occurred in Sicily, Crete, and Cyprus. Of course, Anna was not an eye-witness of those events, which happened before her time, and her account is certainly embellished with the requisite level of rhetorical flourish. There has been much speculation about her sources: had she personally spoken to men who were there? or had she relied upon the notes of her husband, the *Kaisar* Nikephoros Bryennios, who had been collecting materials for a history of Alexios’ reign for years before he died?¹³

With Ioannes Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates, Lesbos and its neighboring islands are associated with the activity of the Italian (mostly Venetian) naval forces in the Aegean. In the 12th century, Lesbos was certainly a part of the empire and its rural society is illuminated by the *vita* of Gregorios of Assos (see below). But the Aegean as a whole had entered another turbulent period in its history, contested by commercial and military interests, both Italian and Byzantine, which culminated in the collapse of Byzantine power in the early 13th century. Lesbos hardly appears in the historians of that period, but this picture changes dramatically in the 14th and 15th centuries. In the narratives of Georgios Pachymeres, Ioannes Kantakouzenos, and Nikephoros Gregoras (and later Doukas, and Laonikos Chalkokondyles), Lesbos is mentioned often, probably on account of its increased importance in the now-diminished empire. Especially in the case of Gregoras and Kantakouzenos we are fortunate to possess two parallel (though divergent) accounts of the capture of Mytilene by the Genoese lord Domenico Cattaneo and its successful reconquest by Andronikos III. Events on Lesbos were apparently cutting close to the center of power, something that had not happened before. Moreover, Kantakouzenos’ *History* is a self-centered narrative of events by which the former emperor and then monk (writing in the 1360s) tried to highlight his personal role in settling the conflict between the Byzantines and their former ally Cattaneo.¹⁴ It is also very likely that he had a personal familiarity with the island, though this is not explicitly stated and so he has not been included in this prosopography. One of the last Byzantine historians, Doukas, was a resident of Mytilene, which again reflects the increased importance of these former provinces and frontiers (though his lifetime lies outside our period).

¹³ See especially HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Anna Komnene.

¹⁴ See KAZHDAN, Cantacuzène.

Church Councils. The single type of source that consistently provides entries for all periods covered by this prosopography are the Church Councils, namely assemblies of bishops whose goal was to resolve the theological and administrative problems that afflicted the Church at any time. Most commonly, bishops of Lesbos (up to ca. 500 A.D.) and later bishops of the cities Mytilene and Methymna are merely attested as signatories to the acts of each council, whose decisions did not primarily concern their sees. But these are very important attestations, not only because they tell us the names of the men who held the offices but also because they reveal the nature of the office itself when that is not otherwise or precisely known. For example, the very signatures of the great Councils of the 5th century reveal that the bishop of Lesbos had under his jurisdiction not only the entire island itself but also neighboring islands such as Tenedos and parts of the mainland. Likewise, it is only from the letter written to the pope by the synod of 520 in Constantinople that elected Epiphaneios as the new patriarch that we first learn of a bishop of Methymna (Christodoros). Occasionally, the acts of the early Councils give us additional information about these bishops and their attendants, such as that Phlorentios' hand shook due to illness and his signature had to be written by his *chorepiskopos* Euelpistos at the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon of 451. Phlorentios' theological position was also shaky, as he had voted with the majority at the "Robber Council" of Ephesos two years previously. So the acts of the Early period tell us something regarding the theological positions that the bishops of Lesbos took. The acts of the Council of Constantinople of 536 reveal where the monophysite Zacharias of Mytilene voted with the majority and where he abstained. But it must be stressed that this kind of information is available only for the early period of the Ecumenical Councils. Not all councils of this period were later regarded as orthodox and few attained to Ecumenical status. The acts of the heretical councils (and of many orthodox ones too) do not survive, though bishops of Lesbos certainly participated in them and endorsed their decisions. The first known bishop, Euagrios, is in fact known only from the account given by the ecclesiastical historian Sokrates of the council of Seleukeia held in 359.

After the end of Iconoclasm, assemblies of Byzantine bishops took place as a rule in Constantinople and were local Synods, not Ecumenical Councils of the whole Church. The balance of interest shifted from theology to matters of administration. Bishops of Mytilene and Methymna signed the proceedings, but there is usually no indication of whether they took an active part in the deliberations and debates. They were probably called to serve on the Constantinopolitan Synod as part of the duties of their office. This seems to have happened more regularly after the loss of Asia Minor and especially in the early Palaiologan period. We have signs then of bishops (e.g., Dionysios) who may have spent years in the capital ostensibly to serve on the Synod, who may well in effect have been absentee prelates. But this indicates the rise in importance of their sees, just as the reduction in size of the empire made Lesbos a more important land than it had been before and accordingly drew the attention of historians (see above).

Hagiography. Hagiography, whether it takes the form of a *vita* or a collection of miracles, is a rewarding field in terms of prosopography. Apart from those individuals whom we expect to find in any biography, i.e., relatives, teachers, and disciples, hagiographical texts host a variety of other persons ranging from the man on the street to the holder of a civil or ecclesiastical office. With regard to Lesbos, *vitae* of local saints provide the only references to persons and events of local interest for the Middle period. To some extent, they partly fill a gap covered by the rich archaeological and epigraphical record generated by the basilicas of the Early period and the documentary evidence from the monasteries of the Late period. All three kinds of sources reflect the importance of religious activity for life on Byzantine Lesbos as well as its changing patterns.

To our knowledge, no saint was born or active on late antique Lesbos.¹⁵ Arguably, the reason for this may be that "very few saints of this period can be shown to have been connected with the peasantry" or, in other words, that the majority of holy men and women from this period originated in an urban milieu.¹⁶ Besides, as

¹⁵ The association of St Alexandros of Alexandria with an inscription found at a field near Laphiona is due to a misconception; see KALDELLIS, Notes 63; IDEM, Λέσβος 195-218; IDEM, Συμμετείχαν στην Α' Οικουμενική Σύνοδο 190-193. As for St Nikon (celebrated on 23 March), who allegedly was born in the area of Neapolis (Italy), served in the Roman army, was then tonsured a monk on Mt Ganos in Thrace and spent some days as an abbot on Lesbos, he suffered martyrdom on Sicily during the reign of Decius (249-251); see AASS Mart. III 446 and SynaxCP 555-556.

¹⁶ KAZHDAN and WHARTON-EPSTEIN, Change 2-3; and SARADI, Byzantine City ch. 4.

in the rest of Greece, monasticism, a breeding ground for sanctity, had not yet put down roots on the island.¹⁷ For this period hagiography offers us only two persons: the brothers Isidoros and Zenodotos from Mytilene attested in the *Life of Severos* written by the monophysite author and later bishop of Mytilene Zacharias, but they are incidental lay characters in a work that has nothing to do with Lesbos.

By contrast, Byzantine hagiography of the Middle period tells of many holy men and women who were associated with Lesbos more or less closely or loosely. In chronological order, spanning the period between the 8th to the 12th centuries, these include the three saintly brothers David, Symeon, and Georgios; also Georgios bishop of Mytilene, Theoktiste, Thomaïs, and Gregorios of Assos. Their exploits, however, are narrated not in seven but in five *vitae* for the reason that a single *vita*, usually styled as the *Acta*, brings together the full-fledged biographies of the three brothers. To those saints three more may be added: Andreas of Crete (ca. 660-740), Nikolaos the Stoudite (793-868), and the deposed patriarch Ignatios (ca. 797/8-877), who resided on the island only temporarily: the first at Eresos, where he passed away in 741; the second in self-imposed exile in 858; and the third as an exile in 859. Thus, after the passage of two generations, Ignatios shared the bitter fate of the empress (and saint!) Eirene, who, at the beginning of the 9th century, was also exiled and died there (802-803). With the exception of Andreas of Crete, none of these works contain long narrative accounts set on Lesbos or descriptions of any place on the island.

The *vitae* of saints who were active on the island represent different degrees of historical (and prosopographical) value. Poor in local prosopography are the biographies of Theoktiste and Thomaïs, two holy women of the Middle period well-known to Byzantinists as they correspond to two different types of sanctity, the desert hermit and the spousal saint. Moreover, their departure from the island was occasioned by two “distinctive” historical realities, piracy and emigration to the capital. Theoktiste was kidnapped by Arab pirates active in the Aegean; Thomaïs followed her parents to the Bosphoros region. The authors of their lives simply refer to the island as the place of the saints’ origin and do not betray any familiarity with it. Instead of any specific locality, the otherwise relatively rich hagiographical dossier of Thomaïs records the generic name of Lesbos as her birthplace. In the case of Theoktiste, a native of Methymna but a woman whose fate was to be linked with another island (Paros), the author Niketas Magistros leaves off the name of her parents and simply mentions a local convent (παρθενών) that the saint joined after she was orphaned. Equally sparse is the brief and “stereotyped” Life of Georgios, a native of Asia Minor, bishop of Mytilene, and confessor under the iconoclast Leon V the Armenian (813-820); it devotes only a few lines to his long-term presence on the island (almost 15 years), placed between his years of ascetic isolation and his tenure of the bishopric. Again, the hagiographer betrays no familiarity with Lesbos.

Conversely, the *Acta* of Sts David, Symeon, and Georgios (henceforth *ADSG*) and the *vita* of Gregorios of Assos provide rich documentation in matters of both prosopography and topography (as their authors must have been natives or at any rate well-acquainted with Lesbos). In the former, no fewer than thirteen persons are recorded (five are not named), whereas in the latter nine (only one is anonymous). These biographies are set in different and distinct periods of Byzantine history, namely Iconoclasm and the age of the Komnenoi; apart from that, they may also be contrasted as being oriented towards the urban and the rustic aspects of island life respectively. The three brothers David, Symeon, and Georgios were born in the city of Mytilene and, except for the elder brother who left the island at a young age, the other two were active in the town itself and its neighboring area (a focus on the town itself is “declared” by the author in his preamble: § 2). Born in Akorne of Gera and absent from Lesbos for a long period, Gregorios of Assos was later to live as an ascetic on the island’s mountains and acquire reputation in villages of the same area, i.e., away from any urban environment.

As has been noted by recent commentators, the *ADSG* integrates three *Lives* of monastic saints into a single text. The part devoted to the elder brother David, a saint of First Iconoclasm but not directly involved in the controversy, constitutes a small part of this long text (ch. 3-10). The fact that, as presented in the text, David was forty-five years older than his second-born brother Georgios has led scholars to suspect a certain “manipulation” on the part of the hagiographer: David must have been the child of a different couple and, for

¹⁷ KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 149-168.

some reason, his originally independent *vita* was attached to that of the other two brothers and confessors of Second Iconoclasm.¹⁸

Nonetheless, the association was not arbitrary. Symeon was the youngest of the three brothers, but his biography is placed in the middle. The bond linking the three was in fact spiritual, as David was Symeon's spiritual father and Georgios, though slightly older, was Symeon's spiritual child. In this sense, in *ADSG* the biographies of Symeon and Georgios appear as a logical unity. The former lived in the urban area of Mytilene as one of the very few stylites of his age for no fewer than thirty-three years, i.e., from 784 to 817, the year he was dragged down from his column and began an adventurous life away from his native island. Georgios, being in charge of a small monastery, did not leave the island until he was invited to the capital by Symeon after the emperor Theophilos' death in 842. Their triumphant return to Mytilene was followed by the consecration of Georgios as bishop of the town, the locals' exemption from taxation for as long as he occupied the see, and the performance of miracles. What at the end "re-united" the three brothers was their burial in a common tomb (an event paralleled on the literary level by the *Acta* itself).

In *ADSG* we are given a vivid picture of life in the main town of the island and a good deal of information about its localities.¹⁹ Nonetheless, especially as far as local people are concerned, the prosopographical record is not as generous as one would hope: aside from ecclesiastical and military officials, *ADSG* mentions the physician Prokopios, an anonymous member of the aristocracy, and the saints' relatives (parents and a sister).

The *vita* of St Gregorios, bishop of Assos, is transmitted in two manuscripts, *Patmiacus* gr. 448 (15th c.) and Megisti Lavra 1824/Ω 14 (16th c.), that correspond to a long and short version respectively. The most recent editor, Sophianos, holds that the double length of the *Patmiacus*-version was due to rhetorical additions of its redactor, and that the Lavra-version, though short and "corrupt," represents a more faithful descendant of the original. Objections to this reconstruction can be raised as the longer *vita* not only rhetorically expands stories, but also in two cases presents basic differences compared to the shorter version. In the first place, the name of the benefactress Eirene Kalamotina as well as that of Loutra, the village of her origin, are added. Likewise, whereas in the longer version the story of Konstantza is set in a period long after the saint's death, in the shorter it is inserted just after it is said that his mother was tonsured a nun.

The hagiographical dossier of Gregorios of Assos includes yet another version, that of the *Synaxarion* notice by the early-14th century scholar Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (*BHG* 710c). It places, probably erroneously, the saint's lifetime in the reign of Konstantinos XI Monomachos (1042-1055) instead of that of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180). However, its "prosopographical" value is not insignificant as it attests two local persons (Komes and an anonymous woman) missing from the other two redactions. Notably, in all three versions the presence of the saint on the island and his miraculous activity is concentrated in the area of Gera, i.e., at some distance from urban centers. The same is true regarding the origin of the beneficiaries of the saint's miraculous cures which he performed both while living and posthumously. Only the lady named Konstantza originated from a town as large as Pergamon.

Finally, the hagiography of the Palaiologan period mentions Lesbos only as a stopping point in the voyages of two roughly contemporary saints, Sabas the Younger and Gregorios of Sinai, who were on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Mount Sinai (1308-1309 and before ca. 1325) respectively. The *vita* of Gregorios written by the future patriarch Kallistos I, has him living for some time on the island but soon departing as he was unable to find quietude; after the *vita* of Gregorios of Assos, it offers another attestation of Mt Libanon as a saint's temporary place of sojourn. Also temporary was the residence on Lesbos of Theoleptos the monk, a beneficiary of the patriarch Athanasios I's posthumous miracles. Apart from these references, in the *vita* of St Euphrosyne the Younger we hear of the relic of the finger of St Clement that was "recently" brought from Lesbos to the monastery of St Nikolaos of Opaina at Constantinople, and that specialized in curing ear diseases.²⁰

¹⁸ ŠEVČENKO, Hagiography 117; also D. ABRAHAMSE in: Defenders 147; KAZHDAN, Literature 200-202; KARLIN-HAYTER, Notes 329-333; and EADEM, Restoration of Orthodoxy 361-373.

¹⁹ E.g., the "lower" and the south harbors, the great bridge linking the castle of Mytilene with the "mainland", the church of St Theodora, the small monastery (μονύδριον) of the Theotokos, etc; we also hear of the village of Myrsinas where Georgios found refuge from the iconoclastic persecution.

²⁰ See AASS Nov. III 876F; on this text see ROCHOW, Die vita der Euphrosyne; and EFTHYMIADIS, Late Byzantine Collections 245-246.

Sigillography. When inscriptions dwindle at the end of antiquity, lead seals increase in number and significance. As with many other provincial areas, seals bring to our attention individuals who are neglected in other sources.²¹ A total of twenty-seven lead seals and one wax seal inscribed in Latin (in all likelihood outside of Byzantine territory) record individuals associated with the towns of Mytilene, Methymna, and possibly Eresos. More than half of the lead seals (14) are in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, whereas the provenance of the other half varies; notably, two are from excavations at Cherson (Ukraine) and Melnitsa (Bulgaria); one was located in an auction catalogue, deriving ultimately from the collection of George Zacos. Owing to partial damage, six of them are not wholly legible and either the name or the locality has been reconstructed by conjecture. In particular, seals in poor condition may complicate the reading of the geographical place-names of Mytilene and Eresos because they may look like Melitene and Ierissos respectively. Accordingly, in two cases of seals dateable to the first half of the 7th and 11th centuries respectively, Eresos emerges from a conjectural reading. If the monogram struck on the reverse of the first seal is correctly deciphered, this will provide us with the earliest lead seal associated with Lesbos and implies that the town became a bishopric as early as the end of late antiquity.

Divided among ten civil officials and nineteen ecclesiastics, lead seals offer important material for the study of civil and ecclesiastical administration on Byzantine Lesbos. The former reflect new administrative and social conditions prevailing in the Byzantine province, be they the *kommerkiarioi* of the transition between the 7th and the 8th centuries, the *dioiketai* of the 9th or *kouratores* of the 10th and 11th centuries.²² Interestingly, no lead seal attesting a civil official from later than the end of the 11th century survives, a fact that is perhaps reflective of administrative changes under the Komnenoi. The chronological range of the prelates who held the three sees of the island is wider as it spans the long period from the 7th to the 13th centuries. Eleven refer to the metropolitan see of Mytilene, the owner of one being not a bishop but an *ostiarios*, *hebdomarios*, and *anagrapheus*, i.e., a lower official; six to Methymna; and two, as already noted, possibly to Eresos. Of particular interest is the 12th-century seal owned by Ioannes, metropolitan of Mytilene and abbot of the monastery of the Manuelitai at Constantinople (styled as the first of the Manuelitai), as it suggests either that he was an absentee from his see or that he maintained a parallel post in the capital. In terms of iconography, only the three seals belonging to Konstantinos (no. 104), Neilos, and Stephanos, all metropolitans of Mytilene, show an attachment to a local cult; they represent St Theodora, an Alexandrine martyr of the age of Diocletian, to whom the metropolis of Mytilene was dedicated.²³ Worthy of note is also the fact that the seals of 11th- and 12th-century ecclesiastics are artistically elaborate, perhaps a sign of their owners' increased significance.

Apart from the seals included in this prosopography, there are published seals that were found on Lesbos but there is no reason to think that their owners ever visited the island or that they were associated with it in any way.²⁴ Suffice it to cite a seal published by Laurent that belonged to the monk Ioannes Katakalon,²⁵ or the three seals published by Dr VASSO PENNAS belonging to Nikolaos *ek prosopou* (9th-10th c.), Eustratios Garidas patriarch of Constantinople (1081-1084), and Michael Barys, *magistros*, *megas chartoularios*, judge of the hippodrome and of the Boukellarioi (11th c.).²⁶ These objects prove only that their owners maintained correspondence with persons (officials or otherwise) residing on Lesbos.

Documents. Classified here as either ecclesiastical or secular and preserved in manuscripts and state or monastic archives, documents attest a large number and variety of individuals: ecclesiastics, monastics, travellers, merchants, and, especially, tenant-farmers. Apart from the Greek-Hebrew ones from the Cairo Genizah, dating from the 11th century, documents mentioning Lesbos appear only in the period after the fall of Constantinople to the Latins (1204). We have been able to locate eighteen such documents, written either

²¹ See W. SEIBT, *Seals and the Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire*, in: CAMERON, *Prosopography*, 95-102; CHEYNET, *Byzantine Seals*; idem, *L'usage des sceaux*; see also *PMBZ*, Prolegomenon 255-266.

²² BRANDES, *Finanzverwaltung* 44-48.

²³ On the church of St Theodora and its possible location see MAZARAKIS, Προάστio 387-391. On the devotion of provincial metropolitans to local saints as reflected in seals, see COTSONIS, *Saints and Cult Centers*.

²⁴ On this issue, see CHEYNET and MORRISON, *Lieux de trouvaille*.

²⁵ LAURENT, *Corpus V/2*, no 1400; the seal is now in the museum of Lisborion.

²⁶ PENNAS, *Byzantine Lead Seals*; all three are now in the Museum of Mytilene.

in Greek or Latin, of which the most rewarding in terms of prosopography are no doubt the cluster of 14th-century patriarchal documents and the so-called *praktikon* of Agiassos. The former are among the ca. 800 acts included in *Vindobonenses historici graeci* 47 and 48, the only two manuscripts preserving a considerable portion of the synodal record of the patriarchate of Constantinople for the period 1315-1402 (see *PRK* I 36-45); the latter is a σιγιλλῶδες γράμμα, i.e., a solemn patriarchal document confirmed with a lead seal, preserved in the archives of Megisti Lavra on Mt Athos (see *ODB* 1893-1894).

Patriarchal documents featuring metropolitans of Mytilene and Methymna as signatories are many, yet those which treat “specific and internal” cases involving the metropolitan sees of Lesbos are nos. 79-87 and 106. Whereas nos. 79, 80, 82, 85, 87 date from September 1324, nos. 81, 83, 84, 86 date from former times as they served as proof of the jurisdiction over certain monasteries embroiled in conflict with the metropolitan of Mytilene. Dated to April 1331, no. 106 refers to the quarrel between the metropolitan of Methymna Malachias and some Constantinopolitan monasteries (Kaleus, Hodegoi, Kyr Athanasios, Kyr Zosimas, Kecharitomene) over the rights of sixteen monasteries located in his see. However, as has been pointed out, its first half (corresponding to f. 83^{r-v} of codex *Vindobonensis historicus gr.* 47 and referring to the above matter), copied as it was by a different hand not otherwise attested in the manuscript, is by and large a falsification; before modern paleographers, this was noted by a later hand in the upper margin of f. 83^r [Τὸ παρὸν ἀνεγνώσθη καὶ ἐξητάσθη ἀκριβῆ (sic!) βασιάνῳ καὶ ἐρεύνη δοθὲν ἀπεδείχθη καὶ ἀνεφάνη ψευδὲς καὶ πεφαλτζευμένον καὶ πάντα ἀνατετραμμένον ...]. Although it remains obscure whom the forger sided with, it can be inferred that the conflict had a further history and was not concluded with the decision recorded in the document.²⁷ In short, this document is “trustworthy” only in its second part (f. 84^{r-v}) dealing with the claims of the monastery of Kritzos, in all probability situated somewhere in the area of Magnesia in Asia Minor, over three monasteries in the area of Methymna.

All in all, the above ten documents attest to 23 persons: ecclesiastics (among whom an anonymous bishop of Gerra), monastics, and laymen; 23 monasteries: St Michael Akronesiotes in Basilika, Hosios Georgios with its two dependencies the Hosioi Pateres (the so-called Daphnea) and Hagios Andreas of Glistra, Hagios Menas of Kato Ptomaia (or -oi), that of Gidon, Hosios Gregorios in Ger(r)a, Aristai, Hagios Nikolaos, Kale Langas, Xerokastron, Myrsine, Kryokopou, Hagia Theophano, Hodegetria inside the castle of Hagioi Theodoroi, the so-called Bourkos outside of it, the Hagioi Pente, Ioannes Theologos, Christ the Savior, Hagios Georgios (also called Kryon Neron), the Klemation, Kerameon, and Hagioi Theodoroi; and one church, that of St Georgios in Mytilene. All these monasteries, spread over a large territory of the island, came to be the apple of discord between local metropolitans and the patriarchate of Constantinople or the latter’s monasteries; in one case, rights of possession were claimed by a monastery in western Asia Minor (the aforementioned Kritzos).

Local abbots appear to have sided with the patriarchate or the Constantinopolitan monastic establishments in reaction to local metropolitans, no matter that their cases were not finally vindicated. Notably, the laymen recorded in these documents were either monastic founders (Gidon, Kanaboutzes) or *charistikarioi* (Manuel Xeros and his son Leon Komnenos) who lived well before the re-emergence of the disputes and their settlement by the patriarchal synod. Obviously, the *floruit* of these persons cannot be estimated with chronological precision.

Problems of another kind surround the most generous source for this prosopography. It is a *praktikon* signed by the *droungarios tes Viglas* and deriving from the rich documentary collection of Megisti Lavra published by the team of scholars involved in the Archives of Mt Athos project. However, although it names no fewer than 31 persons, it is preserved in a poor condition with much of its beginning, perhaps half the original, missing; the hand of the same scribe has added a short note on its left margin mentioning three names (Balarides, Krebbatas, Maleades), though it cannot be determined for certain whether these refer to persons or places. The association of this document with Lesbos and Agiassos in particular is not founded on entirely solid grounds since it rests only on the words “διὰ τὸ ἐν Ἀγιάσῳ μετόχιον Μιτυλήνης” written on the envelope in which the document was enclosed and a later (modern) notice on the verso of the *kollema* (for a description of the document see *Actes de Lavra* II 154-155). Also problematic is the dating of the document on paleographical grounds; it was signed “μηνὶ Σεπ[τεμβρίῳ] (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ε’”, the latter being identifiable by

²⁷ See DARROUZÈS, Regestes 2164; and *PRK* I 60-64.

the editors with the years 1306, 1321 or 1336. As preserved, in terms of content, it lists 14 *staseis*, i.e., homesteads (in fiscal terminology), with their taxable amount calculated in *kokkia*, i.e., units of account, each corresponding to the 1/24 of an *hyperpyron*.²⁸ The editors of this document surmised that it might have concerned the property either of a *metochion* of Megisti Lavra on the island or of a local monastery that later became a *metochion*. Apart from the aforementioned names appearing on the left-hand margin note, the recorded names are those of tenant-farmers and members of their families; there is also the name of a landowner (Andriotes).

5. SOME QUESTIONS OF INSULARITY

At first sight it seems easy to define insular society and to set clear boundaries around the present subject-matter. Simple geography is the deciding factor: one is either on Lesbos or one is not; there can be no middle ground or ambiguity about it. Moreover, islands - and islanders - have a certain reputation for being distant, inaccessible, cut off. They are defined and confined by the facts of geography, an impression confirmed by the regular use of Lesbos in Byzantine times as a place of exile.

But the realities of life in the Aegean are quite that simple and do not conform to these impressions of “insularity.” First, the institutions that shaped almost all aspects of life on Lesbos extended well beyond its coasts and were usually centered elsewhere. This was certainly true of the institutions that bound the entire empire together from southern Italy to Syria in terms of administration, taxation, law, the military, and the Church. Even slight movements on the periphery could set vibrations into motion that were channeled through the capital, passed over the waves, and were eventually felt even in the most insular regions of the empire. Also, the vast majority of the island’s inhabitants would have identified themselves on a deep level as Romans and (after ca. 600 A.D.) orthodox Christians in the same as any other Byzantine elsewhere. Local identities, whether of village or city, meshed with these overarching but compelling national and religious labels and with their attendant claims on loyalty and history.

From the entries of this prosopography it can clearly be seen that the Byzantine administration was as fully operational on Lesbos as anywhere else: land was registered and declared to the imperial authorities; disputes involving the ownership and control of land and monasteries were often settled in the capital; imperial officials came and went with ease; and local officials, notables, and saints traveled routinely to Constantinople. In short, the fact that Lesbos was an island did not make it any more remote from the center of power than any region a few miles’ ride from the capital.

Second, even the institutions that were definitive of island life and therefore essentially “local” failed to correspond neatly to geographical boundaries. For instance, the territory of the city of Mytilene included lands on the mainland of Asia Minor (the *peraia*), which certainly had implications for travel, economic activity, and the islanders’ own view of their geographical “insularity.” In addition, the Church of Lesbos originally included the *peraia* as well as neighboring islands such as Tenedos, which reconfigured other local identities along different geographical coordinates than those that are visible on a bare map. Later, these configurations were broken down into smaller units as each of the major cities acquired a bishop. There is no reason to believe, for instance, that the citizens of Methymna felt closer to those of Mytilene on the basis of their common insular location rather than, say, to those of Assos on the opposite coast, with whom it would have been far easier to have dealings (Lesbos is not an easy island to cross, nor a small one). In short, the realities of ecclesiastical and civic life never conformed precisely to the geographical definition of insularity, being either broader than it or more restricted.

Another connotation of insularity - isolation - is even more problematic. Far from being “isolated” in any sense by the sea, Lesbos was placed directly upon the main north-south sea routes, e.g., from Constantinople to the Near East, as well as upon the route from mainland Greece to the Propontis. This means that more travelers, including ambassadors, pilgrims to Jerusalem, and tourists, “stopped over” on Lesbos (even though it was not their final destination) than they did in any comparable inland region (witness St Paul, before our

²⁸ For *staseis*, see ODB 1944; and SVORONOS, Cadastre de Thèbes 118 ff. For *kokkia* see SCHILBACH, Metrologie 185-186. Originally, *kokkia* were a unit of weight: see Géométries du fisc byzantin, 44 (§ 13).

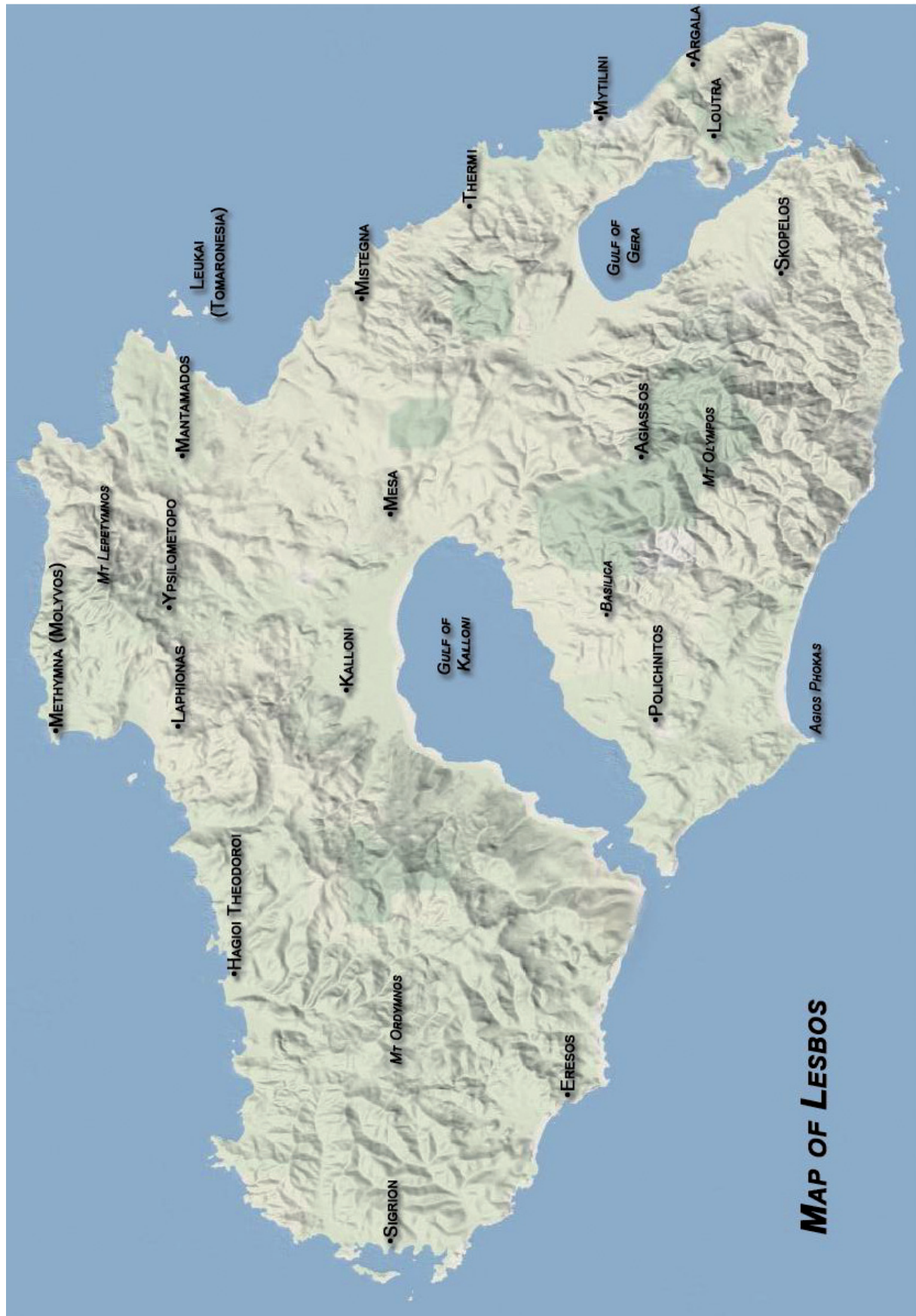
period), adding to the numbers of this prosopography.²⁹ One was therefore more likely to hear the latest news on Lesbos and meet more foreign travelers than in, say, inland Phrygia. In addition, Lesbos' extent, population, and importance for agricultural production and trade made it a hub of Aegean commerce. It is well known that before the railways goods were more easily transported by sea than by land. To this should be added the attraction of local saints and holy men, especially in the Middle period, who were followed by disciples and pilgrims.³⁰ The disadvantage of accessibility, however, was the facility with which naval raiders could attack, and our prosopography documents the unwanted attentions of pirates from the Near East, Italy, and even as far as Spain.

In short, outside of Constantinople, Lesbos was one of the places where one was most likely to meet a former or future emperor, a saint, a traveller from West, North, and East, or be attacked by a pirate fleet. The fact that it was such a busy intersection makes the present prosopography all the more useful as an index of both movement and local society in the Byzantine provinces.

Bibliography: for general thoughts on Aegean insularity, set in discussions of specific periods, see S. VILATTE, *L'insularité dans la pensée grecque*. Paris 1991; P. LEMERLE, *Le monde égéen entre l'antiquité et les temps modernes: quelques remarques sur l'insularité*, in: *Byzantium: Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos*, v. 1. Athens 1986, 129-137; E. MALAMUT, *Les îles de la mer Égée de la fin du XI^e siècle à 1204*. *Byz* 52 (1982) 310-350; EADEM, *Les îles de la mer Égée entre l'antiquité et Byzance*. *Revue des études anciennes* 103 (2001) 25-48; and P. DOUKELLIS, *L'image des îles et de la mer Égée dans la littérature du haut empire: quelques réflexions*. *ibid.* 49-59.

²⁹ For sea travel in general, see KODER, *Το Βυζάντιο ως χώρος* 280-285.

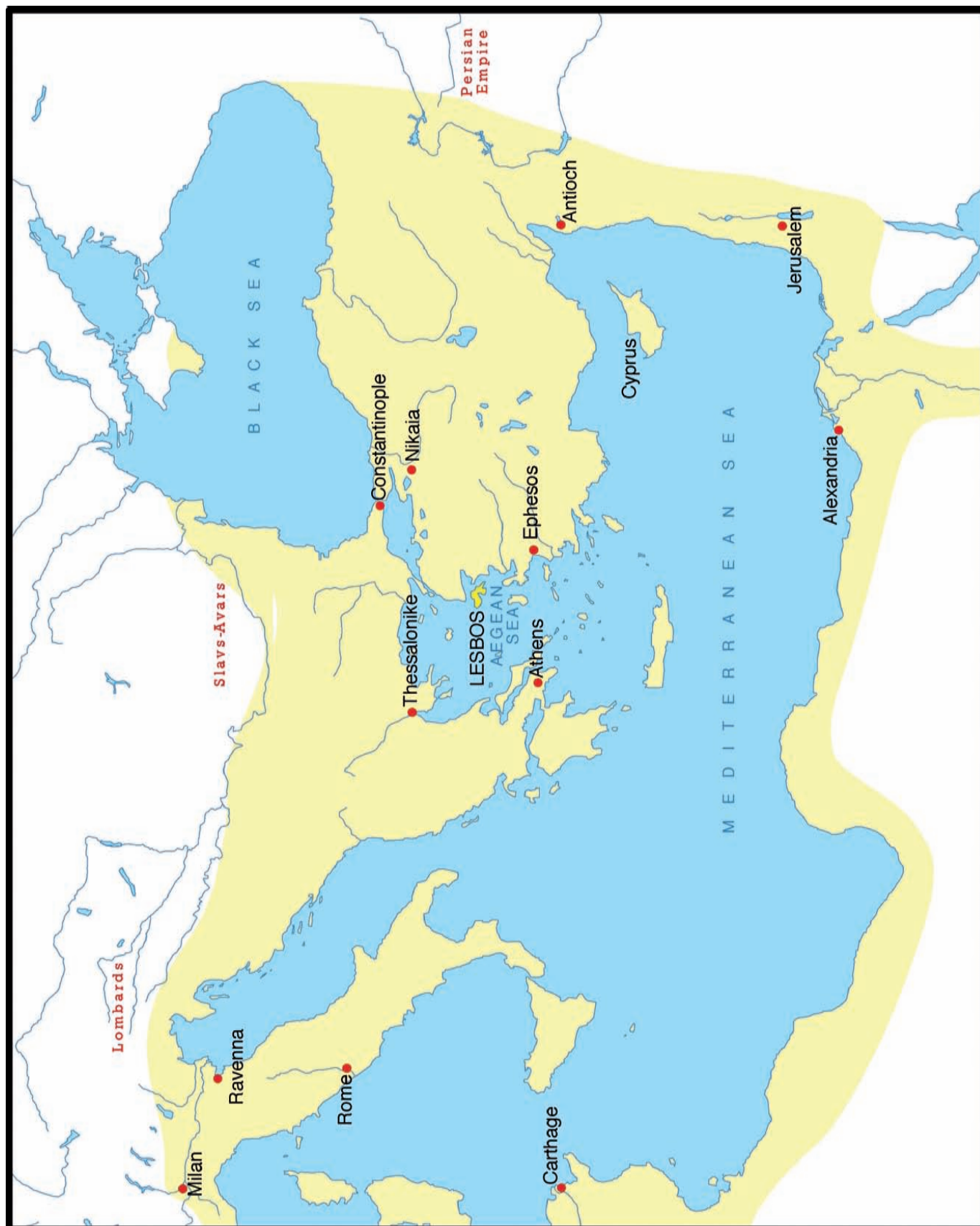
³⁰ Cf. ANGOLD, *Church* 370-371 for Patmos.



1. MAP OF LESBOS WITH PLACE-NAMES EXCLUDING THOSE OF UNKNOWN LOCATION



2. MAP WITH LOCATIONS AS RECORDED IN THE SOURCES



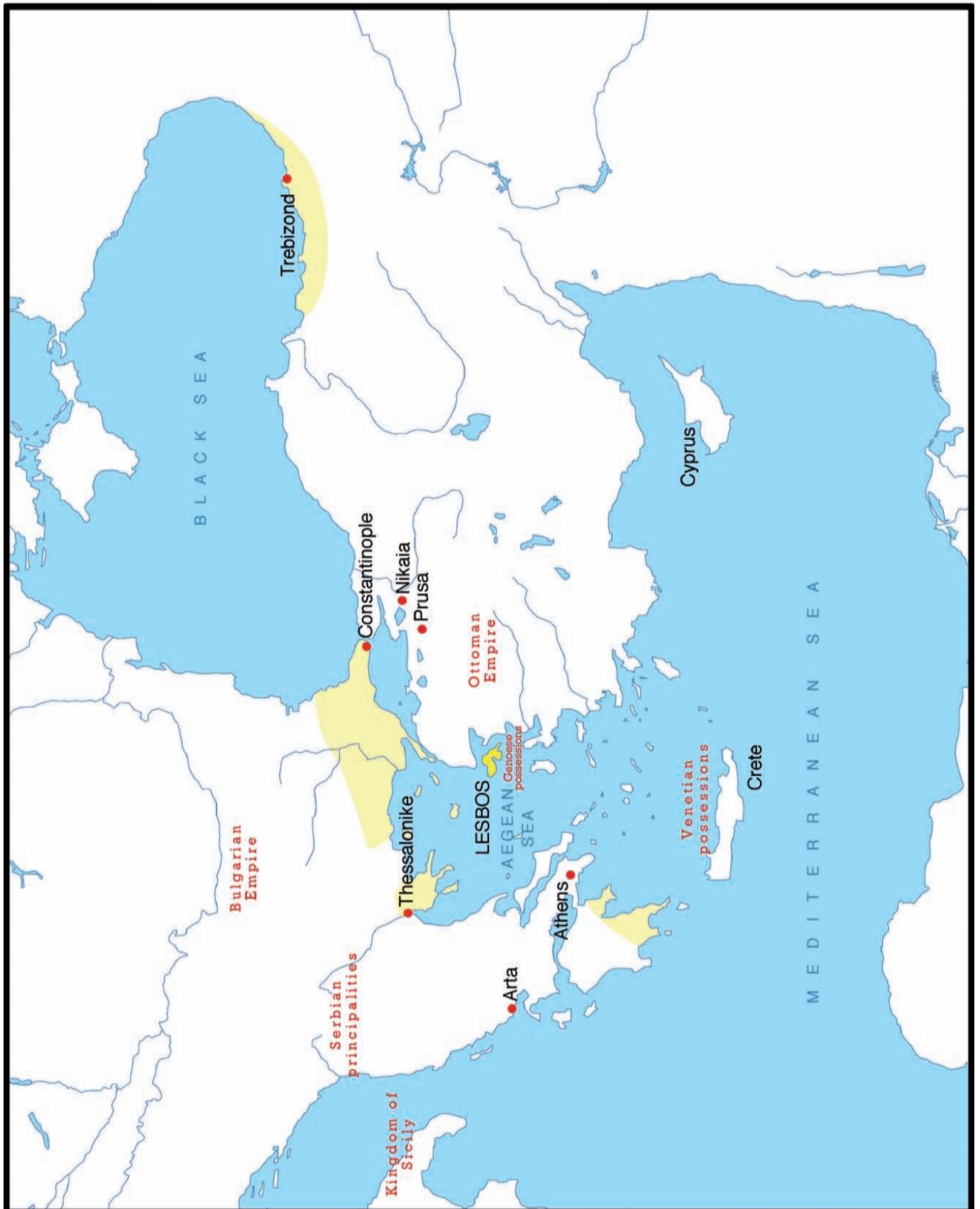
3. MAP OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE IN CA. 600



4. MAP OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE IN CA. 1020



5. MAP OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE IN CA. 1210



6. MAP OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE IN CA. 1350

THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF BYZANTINE LESBOS: ENTRIES

I. THE EARLY PERIOD: 284-642 A.D.

1. Aetios (Ἀέτιος)

D 364-365

B Aetios was the chief exponent of the heterousian or anomoian doctrine, according to which the Son is different from the Father with respect to substance. He was a highly learned theologian who traveled extensively, gaining the favor of Caesar Gallus, then falling into disfavor with the emperor Constantius after Gallus' execution. His theological views were generally unpopular except among a relatively small number of devoted followers and he was exiled and persecuted. When the emperor Julian (361-363) recalled the exiled bishops, he extended a special invitation to Aetios, whom he considered a personal friend. According to Philostorgios, Julian also granted him a farm on the island of Lesbos, near the city of Mytilene, as a sign of his favor, where Aetios retired after the emperor's death. During the revolt of Prokopios, however, Aetios and two of his friends (the brothers Errenianos and Gerresianos) were accused of supporting the emperor Valens, and were almost executed by the (anonymous) governor whom the rebel had sent to Lesbos. They were saved by another of Prokopios' (anonymous) high officials, who was related to the two brothers. Aetios and his friends then departed for Constantinople, where the great theologian soon died.

When Aetios and Eunomios finally decided to create an independent Church for the heterousians, they appointed Thallos bishop of Lesbos.

S a) Philostorgios, *Ecclesiastical History* 9.4, ed. BIDEZ p. 117: “ἐπὶ τὴν Λέσβον ἀποπλεῖ, κάκει περὶ Μιτυλήνην ἐν ἀγρῷ διέτριβεν ... δῶρον δ' ἦν ὁ ἀγρὸς Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν διαθέσεως σύμβολον...”; b) *ibid.* 9.6 (ed. BIDEZ, p. 118): “Υπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνοις καὶ Ἀέτιον ὁ τῆς νήσου παρὰ τοῦ Προκοπίου σταλεῖς ἄρχειν, διαβληθέντα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὰ Οὐάλεντος αἰρεῖσθαι, εἰς κρίσιν εἴλκεν· καὶ θάνατος ἂν βίαιος διεδέξατο τὴν διαβολήν, εἰ μὴ τις ἀφικόμενος κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ τῶν παραδυναστευόντων Προκοπίῳ, τὸν Ἀέτιον τοῦ ξίφους ἀρπάζει. Καὶ γὰρ πρὸς γένους ὧν ὁ καταπεμφθεὶς ἐκ Προκοπίου Ἐρρενιανοῦ καὶ Γερρεσιανοῦ (ἀδελφοὶ δὲ ἦσθη οὗτοι, καὶ τῷ Ἀετίῳ [a crucial correction of Εὐνομίῳ] συνῆσάν τε καὶ συνδιαβέβληντο), οὕτως δὲ οὗτος κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὸν καταδικασάμενον αὐτοὺς ἀπειλήσας καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς θανατηφόρον ἀνασώσάμενος ψῆφον, καθαροὺς ἀπολύει τῶν ἐπικληθέντων. Ὁ δὲ Ἀέτιος τοὺς μετ' ἑαυτοῦ συναναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀπαίρει... καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τελευτᾷ.”

Bibl.: for Aetios' career and theological views, see HANSON, *Arian Controversy* c. 19.1-2; KOPEČEK, *Neo-Arianism*, v. 2 424-429; MÉTIVIER, *La Cappadoce* 206 n. 228; for his stay on Lesbos, KALDELLIS, *Λέσβος* 139-145.

2. Agostinos (Ἀγωστίνος)

D 5th-6th c.

B An Agostinos, whose name is probably derived from Latin Augustinus, is mentioned in a votive inscription found in the ruins of the early Christian basilica near the village of Loutra, just east of the entrance of the Gulf of Gera.

S ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς κ[αὶ] σωτηρίας Ἀγωστίν[ου].

Bibl.: for the inscription and discussion, see CHARITONIDES, *Τοπογραφία* 23-24; KALDELLIS, *Λέσβος* 190-193.

3. pseudo-Alexandros

D 5th-6th c.

B Whether under the guise of a saint or bishop, “Alexandros” of Laphiona (near Methymna) is one of the most persistent myths of the island’s sacred history. The following are the known facts about the person or persons on whom the legends are based. Near the excavated site of an early Christian basilica in the hills above the modern village of Laphiona, there lies a sarcophagus, also belonging to the early Christian period, with anonymous inscription calling the deceased a preacher of the Trinity, a guardian of chastity, and friend of Christ. This text attests only to the activity of an anonymous homoousian Christian missionary in the region, possibly the founder of the basilica (a description from ca. 1600 of the villages in the see of Methymna by its bishop Gabriel claims that the sacrophagus was originally built into the church’s sanctuary). One thousand years later the church was still in use and liturgical texts associated with worship there claim that it was dedicated to St Alexandros of Alexandria (the enemy of Areios), and, furthermore, that the occupant of the sarcophagus *was* St Alexandros. In all likelihood, the basilica was dedicated to the champion of orthodoxy St Alexandros of Alexandria by the occupant of the sarcophagus, who was later identified, at some point during the subsequent millennium, with the famous saint in whose church he was prominently buried. Contrary to certain *very* recent claims, there is no evidence of a bishop Alexandros of Methymna who participated in the First Ecumenical Council of Nikaia or founded a monastery at the site of ancient basilica.

S + Ὁ τῆς Τριάδος κήρυξ
καὶ τῆς παρθενίας φύ-
A λαξ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ **Ω**
ἐνθάδαι κατάκειται
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχόμενος.

Bibl.: for the inscription and archaeological evidence, see CHARITONIDES, Τοπογραφία 53-56 and Pl. 27. For subsequent excavations, see T. ALIPRANTIS in *Archaeologikon Deltion* 27 (1972) 616-617 and Pl. 576-577; *ibid.* 28 (1973) 556 and Pl. 525-526. For the liturgical texts and a discussion (which does not, however, attempt to solve the problem at its core), see PHOUNTOULIS, Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἀλέξανδρος. For a detailed analysis, see KALDELLIS, Λέσβος, Appendix 1 (195-218); summary in *IDEM*, Notes 63; and Συμμετείχαν στήν Α΄ Οἰκουμένη Σύνοδο 190-193.

4. Anatolios (Ἀνατόλιος)

D Second half of the 6th c.

B Anatolios and his wife Tryphena paid for the mosaic on the floor of the early Christian basilica at Ypsilometopo, which duly incorporated an inscription honoring their benefaction. The final letters have been interpreted as the 8th indiction, the two S’s being purely decorative.

S ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Ἀνατολίου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Τρυφένης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἐπήφωσεν το
θυσιαστήριον · ιν δ · SHS

Bibl.: for the inscription, see ORLANDOS, Βασιλικαί; PELEKANIDES, Σύναγμα, v. 1, 134; for a discussion, KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-193.

5. Andreas (Ἀνδρέας), bishop of Eresos (?)

D First half of the 7th c.

B Owner of two seals that were found in the excavations of Ephesos. According to their editor, the letters E, O, P, C. and V in the monogram on the reverse, might correspond to the reading Ἐρεσσοῦ or Ἐπισσοῦ; in other words, both seals might have been attached to a letter addressed by the bishop of Eresos to the metropolitan of Ephesos. If this identification is correct, it would be the earliest attestation of a bishopric of Eresos, otherwise known to have been assigned a bishop toward the second half of the 10th c.

S Obv.: Ἀνδρέας or Ἀνδρέου Rev.: Ἐρεσσοῦ or Ἐπισσοῦ (reading dubious).

Bibl.: SEIBT, Drei byzantinische Bleiseigel; DESTEPHEN, Prosopographie: Andréas 10.

6. Aristoteles (Ἀριστοτέλης)

D Ca. 300

B Tenant-farmer (*colonus*) attested in the Diocletianic land-registers. He grazed goats on a plot of land called Triodotos, possibly modern Triodos, near Agiassos.

S *IG* 12.2 # 76, col i, lines 8-9.

Bibl.: for the tenant-farmers of these inscriptions, see JONES, *Census Records* 51, 53, 57; for Triodotos, see MANTZOURANIS, *Τοπωνύμια* 411.

7. Asteria (Ἀστερία)

D First half of the 5th c.

B Asteria undertook the construction of part of the mosaic floor of the early Christian basilica of St Andreas at Eresos. Her contribution was duly honored by an inscription set within the mosaic itself.

S Ἀστερία ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐμαυτῆς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου μου ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ παρέσχον.

Bibl.: for the inscription, see ORLANDOS, *Βασιλικάι* 40; PELEKANIDES, *Σύνταγμα*, v. 1 128; for discussion, KALDELLIS, *Λέσβος* 190-193.

8. Auxentios (Αὐξέντιος)

D 413

B Auxentios is given the vague title of *epitropos* in an inscription that was found near the early Christian basilica at Ypsilometopo, which attests to the construction of a bath during the consulship of Lucius Flavius (in 413). This building, whose location is unknown, was not necessarily connected to the basilica, which was probably built in the second half of the sixth century.

According to the inscription, the bath was built when Auxentios was *epitropos* and Eulogios *despotes*. It is impossible to know exactly what these titles signify. Auxentios may have been the steward of a rich man or the state-appointed overseer of the construction project.

S

+ ἐκτίσθη
τὸ βαλανίον
ἐπὶ ὑπατίας
Φλ(αβίου) Λουκίου
Εὐλογίου τοῦ Λα-
λαγριωνίου[υ] ἐ-
πιτροπεύοντος
[Α]ὐξεντίου

Bibl.: for the basilica and the inscription, see ORLANDOS, *Βασιλικάι* 4-28; CHARITONIDES, *Τοπογραφία* 52-53 and Pl. 26γ; KODER, *Aigaion* 157; KALDELLIS, *Notes*, 64, and IDEM, *Λέσβος*, Appendix 5 (224-228). For ecclesiastical epitropoi, see LEONTARITOU, *Εκκλησιαστικά αξιώματα* 247-250.

9. [B]elisarios ([B]ελισάριος)

D 6th c.

B A [B]elisarios is mentioned in one of the votive inscriptions carved upon an architectural element of the early Christian basilica of Argala, a few miles south of Mytilene.

S EUANGELIDES, *Βασιλική*, 16-17.

Bibl.: KALDELLIS, *Λέσβος*, 190-193.

10. Christodoros, bishop of Methymna

D 520

B First attested bishop of Methymna, who co-signed the Epistle with which the election of the new Patriarch of Constantinople Epiphanius (520-536) was announced to pope Hormisdas.

S *PL* 63 cols 483-485: Christodorus episcopus Methymnensis civitatis.

Bibl.: FEDALTO, Hierarchia 214. For the events, see GRUMEL, Regestes I, pt. 1 88 (# 217).

11. [De]metra (Δήμητρα)

D 6th c.

B According to a partial restoration, an inscription from the early Christian basilica at Argala mentions the virgin Demetra, who wished to honor Christ through the intercession of the Theotokos.

S [Δή]μητρας παρθένου Χ(ριστ)ῆ δ[ιὰ τῆ]ς πρεσβείας τῆς Θεοτό[κου].

Bibl.: for the inscription, see EUANGELIDES, Βασιλική 16-17; for the restoration, KIOURTZIAN, Pietas 376.

12. Diogenes, governor

D 2 August of 294, 300, 302 or 305

B Governor of the province of the Islands under the Tetrarchy.

S *Codex Justinianus* 3.22.5: *praeses insularum*.

Bibl.: *PLRE* 1, 255: Diogenes 1.

13. Dionysios (Διονύσιος)

D Ca. 300

B Tenant-farmer (*colonus*) attested in the Diocletianic land-registers, who leased land, together with Hermo...n, on a plot called Λευκή ἀκτὴ σὺν τεμένει (“White Coast with a shrine”), possibly modern Λευκάδα, or Ἀσπρες πέτρες, and Τέμενος, located a few miles south of the remains of ancient Pyrrha, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Kallone. A Dionysios, probably the same person, is attested later in the same inscription as leasing land (γεωργός) on the plot Μαρμαρίνη ληνός (“Marble Press”). A.H.M. Jones believes the two men were different.

S *IG* 12.2 # 79, col b, lines 1 and 5.

Bibl.: for the tenant-farmers of these inscriptions, see JONES, Census Records 51, 53, 57; for the position of Λευκή ἀκτὴ σὺν τεμένει, see MANTZOURANIS, Τοπωνύμια 412, and SPENCER, Gazetteer 20, who speculates that the name ‘white coast’ may derive from the extensive salt pans north of Skala Polichnitou; for the location Μαρμαρίνη ληνός, see LABARRE, Cités de Lesbos 234-235.

14. Elpidephoros (Ἐλπιδοφόρος)

D Ca. 300

B Tenant-farmer (*colonus*) attested in the Diocletianic land-registers. He grazed four oxen and one horse (the latter owned together with Kyzikios) on a plot of land called Teichea. He also leased land on a plot called Tydai, possibly modern Tyda, located a few miles south of the remains of ancient Pyrrha, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Kallone.

S *IG* 12.2 # 76, col e, lines 6-10; and *IG* 12.2 # 79, col a, line 1.

Bibl.: for the tenant-farmers of these inscriptions, see JONES, Census Records 51, 53, 57; for Tydai, see MANTZOURANIS, Τοπωνύμια 412.

15. Elpidios (Ἐλπίδιος)**D** 565

B Elpidios, an archdeacon of the Gaianitai of Alexandria (aphthartodocetists who in 536 had supported the patriarchal bid of the archdeacon Gaïanos or Gaïnas and had ordained Elpidios as their bishop), was summoned by the emperor Justinian to Constantinople. He was conveyed in chains as far as the port of Sigrion, where he died.

S Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. DE BOOR p. 241.6-10: “τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ ἔτει Θεοδοσιανοὶ καὶ Γαϊανῖται ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κτίζειν ἤρξαντο συνακτήρια, καὶ αὐθεντήσαντες οἱ Γαϊανῖται ἐπίσκοπον ἑαυτοῖς ἐχειροτόνησαν Ἐλπίδιον, τὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον αὐτῶν· ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς δεδεμένον ἐλθεῖν προσέταξεν. Ἐρχόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὸν Σίγριν ἀπέθανεν.”; Engl. tr.: MANGO and SCOTT, Theophanes, 354.

Bibl.: for Gaïanos and the conflicts in Alexandria, see FREND, Rise 842; EVANS, Empress Theodora 83-84.

16. Errenianos (Ἐρρενιανός)**D** 365

B According to Philostorgios, the two brothers Errenianos and Gerresianos were friends and supporters of the heterousian heretic Aetios while the latter resided on the island of Lesbos. During the revolt of Prokopios, the three men were accused of supporting the emperor Valens and were about to be put to death by Prokopios’ (anonymous) local governor, but were rescued by an (anonymous) relative of the two brothers, who held high office under the usurper and rushed to Lesbos in order to protect them from harm. Following this incident, Aetios and his friends removed themselves to Constantinople.

S Philostorgios, *Ecclesiastical History* 9.6, ed. BIDEZ p. 118: for the text, see as in *Aetios*.

Bibl.: as in *Aetios*.

17. Euagrios (Εὐάγριος), **bishop of Mytilene****D** 359

B Euagrios is the first attested bishop of Mytilene. He participated in the Council of Seleukeia of 359, on the side of the Homoians, whose leader was the eloquent and clever Akakios, bishop of Kaisareia and successor of Eusebios. The Homoians believed that the Son was like to the Father, but not with respect to substance. Their opponents, who formed the majority of the bishops at Seleukeia, were the Homoiousians, who believed that the Son was like to the Father with respect to substance. At the Council, the Homoiousians deposed Akakios and nine of his supporters, including Euagrios of Mytilene, but these depositions seem never to have been implemented for Akakios and his supporters hurried to Constantinople, where they persuaded the emperor Constantius of the justice of their cause. At the subsequent Council of Constantinople (360), fifty Homoian bishops, possibly including Euagrios, deposed many prominent Homoiousians, who were promptly removed from their sees. The faction to which the bishop of Mytilene belonged won this round.

A bishop Euagrios appears along with Akakios and other homoians as a signatory to a creed preserved by Hilarius of Poitiers, who attributes it to a Council of Sirmium. It is unfortunately entirely unclear which Council of Sirmium is meant, or even whether the list of signatories belongs with the quoted creed. Destephen identifies the Council of Sirmium as the one held in 351. If this identification is correct, then the first attestation of Euagrios as bishop of Mytilene should be dated back to that year. In his list of the prelates who participated in that council, Epiphanius of Salamis includes Euagrios.

S a) Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* 73,26, ed. HOLL p. 300,25: “Εὐάγριος ἐπίσκοπος Μιτυλήνης τῶν νήσων.”

b) Sokrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.40, ed. HANSEN p. 216: “καθεῖλον αὐτόν τε Ἀκάκιον ... Εὐάγριον Μιτυλήνης τῆς νήσου.”

Related source: Hilarius, *Collectanea Antiariana Parisina (Fragmenta Historica)*, Series B VII 8-9, ed. FEDER p. 186-170.

Bibl.: FEDALTO, Hierarchia 217. For the Council of Seleukeia and its aftermath, see HANSON, Arian Controversy c. 12.4-5; for Homoian theology, *ibid.* c. 18; for Hilarius and the Council of Sirmium, *ibid.* 357-362. For Euagrios, see MOUTZOURIS, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 183 (a garbled account), KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 134-140, and DESTEPHEN, Prosopographie: Euagrios I.

18. Euelpistos (Εὐέλπιστος)

D 451

B ‘Rural bishop’ (χωρεπίσκοπος) of the Church of Lesbos, who signed the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) on behalf of his bishop Phlorentios, whose hand was unsteady on account of sickness (“διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ ὑπότρομον ἔχειν ὑπὸ ἀρρωστίας τὴν χεῖρα”). Destephen assumes that he was a χωρεπίσκοπος of Tenedos and a representative of Phlorentios in the Council.

S ACO II (Chalcedon), 1.2 p. 40 (mistakenly called Eulogios); also 150,1.3; 91,3.2; 100; for Euelpistos “ἐπέχοντα τὸν τόπον Φλωρεντίου,” see also 1.1, p. 63,1.2; p. 77,91; 137,150.

Bibl.: DESTEPHEN, Prosopographie: Euelpistos. For rural bishops in general, see JONES, *LRE* 879, and, in more detail, LECLERCQ, Législation conciliaire 1197-1218.

19. Eugenios (Εὐγένιος)

D Ca. 300

B Tenant-farmer (*colonus*) attested in the Diocletianic land-registers, who leased land, together with Hesperos, on a plot called Λευκή ἀκτὴ σὺν τεμένει, (“White Coast with a shrine”), possibly of modern Λευκάδα, or Ἀσπρες Πέτρες, and Τέμενος, located a few miles south of the remains of ancient Pyrrha, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Kallone.

S IG 12.2 # 79, col a, lines 6-7.

Bibl.: for the tenant-farmers of these inscriptions, see JONES, Census Records 51, 53, 57; for the location, see MANTZOURANIS, Τοπωνύμια 412, and SPENCER, Gazetteer 20, who speculates that the name ‘white coast’ may derive from the extensive salt pans north of Skala Polichnitou.

20. Eulogios tou Lalagrioniou (Εὐλόγιος τοῦ Λαλαγριωνίου)

D 413

B Eulogios is given the title of *despotes* in an inscription that was found near the early Christian basilica at Ypsilometopo, which attests to the construction of a bath during the consulship of Lucius Flavius (in 413). This building, whose location is entirely unknown, was not necessarily connected to the basilica, which was probably built in the second half of the sixth century.

According to the inscription, the bath was built when Auxentios was *epitropos* and Eulogios *despotes*. J. Koder interprets the latter term as bishop. Since bishops were unofficially called *despotai* in Byzantium. Eulogios would then be the first known fifth-century bishop of Lesbos. Yet *despotes* had a wide range of meanings, signifying the owner or master of a thing. Eulogios may simply have been the rich owner of the bath or of the land upon which it was built, and Auxentios his steward.

S for the inscription, text as in *Auxentios*.

Bibl.: for the basilica and the inscription, see ORLANDOS, Βασιλικάι 4-28; CHARITONIDES, Τοπογραφία 52-53 and Pl. 26γ; KODER, Aigaion 157; KALDELLIS, Notes 64, and *IDEM*, Λέσβος Appendix 5 (224-228). For ecclesiastical *epitropoi*, see LEONTARITOU, Εκκλησιαστικά αξιώματα 247-250.

21. Eunoios (Εὐνόιος), bishop of Mytilene

D 458-459

B Bishop of Mytilene who participated in the local Constantinopolitan Synod of 458-459, during the patriarchate of Gennadios. He signed the Synod's *Encyclical Epistle* against simony. Eunoios was possibly the successor of Phlorentios.

S *PG* 85 col 1620: “Εὐνόιος ἐπίσκοπος μητροπόλεως Μιτυλήνης ὑπέγραψα.”

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 215. For the Synod in general, GRUMEL, *Regestes* I, pt. 1 62-63 (# 143).

22. Gennadius, Aurelius Agathus, governor

D 293-305

B *vir perfectissimus* and *praeses provinciae insularum* (governor of the province of the Islands) under the Tetrarchy. He erected an impressive marble arch on Lesbos, with an inscription honoring the divine will and majesty of the emperors. This arch was still standing in the 1440s, when Kyriacus of Ancona visited the island ('Kyriacus' was his preferred spelling). The inscription is also mentioned by Leonardo of Chios, another prominent visitor of Lesbos during the same period.

S Lesbos: *CIL* 3.1 # 450 (= *IG* 12 Suppl. p. 77; the words in brackets are modern restorations to the text given by Kyriacus):

IMP C C AVRELIO VALERIO
DIOCLETIANO P F [AUG ET IMP C
M AURELIO VALERIO MAXIMIANO
P F ET] FL VAL CONSTANTIO
ET [G]AL VAL MAXIMIANO
NOBILISS CAESARIBUS
AVREL [AG]ATHVS [G]ENNADIUS
V P PRAES PROV INSVL
DEVOTUS NUMINI MAIESTATIQUE
EORVM DICATISSIMVS

Bibl.: *PLRE* 1 390 : Aurel. Agathus Gennadius 2; for Kyriacus and Lesbos, see KODER, *Aigaion* 212; for Leonardo of Chios, see CALZAMIGLIA, *Maonese di Chio* 71 n. 83; for provincial governors in the later Roman period erecting monuments in honor of the emperors, see JONES, *LRE* 758. For Rhodes as the capital of the province, *L'année épigraphique* 1947, # 57 (p. 27).

23. Gerresianos (Γερρεσιανός)

D 365

B According to Philostorgios, the two brothers Errenianos and Gerresianos were friends and supporters of the heterousian heretic Aetios while the latter resided on the island of Lesbos. During the revolt of Prokopios, the three men were accused of supporting the emperor Valens and were about to be put to death by Prokopios' (anonymous) local governor, but were rescued by an (anonymous) relative of the two brothers, who held high office under the usurper and rushed to Lesbos in order to protect them from harm. Following this incident, Aetios and his friends removed themselves to Constantinople.

S Philostorgios, *Ecclesiastical History* 9.6, ed. BIDEZ p. 118: for the text, see as in *Aetios*.

Bibl.: as in *Aetios*.

24. Hermo...n (Ἑρμο...ν)

D Ca. 300

B Tenant-farmer (*colonus*) attested in the Diocletianic land-registers, who leased land, together with Dionysios, on a plot called Λευκή ἀκτὴ σὺν τεμένει ("White Coast with a shrine"), possibly modern

Λευκάδα, or Ἴασπρες πέτρες, and Τέμενος, located a few miles south of the remains of ancient Pyrrha, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Kallone.

S IG 12.2 # 79, col b, line 1 (possibly also col c, line 6).

Bibl.: for the tenant-farmers of these inscriptions, see JONES, Census Records 51, 53, 57; for the location, see MANTZOURANIS, Τοπωνύμια 412, and SPENCER, Gazetteer 20, who speculates that the name ‘white coast’ may derive from the extensive salt pans north of Skala Polichnitou.

25. Hesperos (Ἑσπερος)

D Ca. 300

B Tenant-farmer (*colonus*) attested in the Diocletianic land-registers, who leased land, together with Dionysios, on a plot called Λευκή ἀκτὴ σὺν τεμένει (“White Coast with a shrine”), possibly modern Λευκάδα, or Ἴασπρες πέτρες, and Τέμενος, located a few miles south of the remains of ancient Pyrrha, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Kallone.

S IG 12.2 # 79, col a, lines 6-7

Bibl.: for the tenant-farmers of these inscriptions, see JONES, Census Records 51, 53, 57; for the location, see MANTZOURANIS, Τοπωνύμια 412, and SPENCER, Gazetteer 20, who speculates that the name ‘white coast’ may derive from the extensive salt pans north of Skala Polichnitou.

26. Iakovos Baradaios

D After 542

B Syrian Monophysite who more than any other person after Severos of Antioch established the foundations of a separate Monophysite Church, initially with the support of the empress Theodora. Eluding Justinian’s agents, Iakovos consecrated Monophysite bishops throughout the eastern provinces. His biographer John of Ephesos, who was one of them, lists Smyrne, Pergamon, Tralleis, Ephesos, and Chios. Although no appointment is mentioned for Mytilene, the island is explicitly included in Iakovos’ sphere of activity. It is therefore certain that a Monophysite community existed there, and it is possible that no episcopal appointment was required because the “official” bishops, Zacharias or his successors, were Monophysites to begin with.

S John of Ephesos, *Lives of the Eastern Saints* 50-51, ed. BROOKS III, pp. 154-164, esp. 154: “the blessed James, having armed himself with religion, and clothed himself in the zeal of heroism, extended his course over all the countries ... and the islands of the sea Cyprus and Rhodes, and Chios and Mitylene.”

Bibl.: for Iakovos in general, see HONIGMANN, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites* 158-177; also *EPLBHC* IV 174; for John of Ephesos, HARVEY, *John of Ephesus* esp. 106 ff.

27. Ioannes, bishop of Lesbos (Ἰωάννης)

D 431

B Bishop of Lesbos who participated in the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesos (431) and signed the condemnation of Nestorios. Elsewhere in the Acts of the Council he is called the bishop “totius Lesbi” and “ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Λέσβου [καὶ] τῶν Σεληνιακῶν αἰγιαλῶν.” The latter is reference to the coastal regions of Asia Minor across the straits from the island, and the small city of Poroselene (modern Moschonesia), which in the fifth century fell under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lesbos.

At Ephesos Ioannes was one of the 68 bishops who formally protested Kyrillos of Alexandria’s decision to begin the Council before the arrival of Ioannes of Antioch and the eastern bishops. Nevertheless, 40 of those bishops, including our Ioannes, signed the condemnation of Nestorios the very next day. It should be noted that as Patriarch of Constantinople Nestorios had detached the island of Tenedos from the bishopric of Lesbos, turning it into an independent see and placing it under one of his close supporters, Anastasios. After Nestorios’ deposition, his successor Maximianos formally returned Tenedos to Ioannes’

control. Anastasios is naturally found among the signatories of the counter Council held by Ioannes of Antioch.

Ioannes is probably the bishop mentioned in a mosaic inscription on the floor of the early Christian basilica of St Andreas at Eresos. Beyond facilitating the dating of the monument, this inscription is the earlier piece of evidence we possess regarding the building activities of the bishops of Lesbos.

- S** Title and jurisdiction: *ACO* I (Ephesus), 1.2, p. 61 (Ἰωάννης ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Λέσβου); 4, p. 28 (Iohannes episcopus totius Lesbi); 1.7, p. 113 (Ἰωάννης ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Λέσβου τῶν Σεληνιακῶν αἰγιαλῶν); Poroselene: KODER, Aigaion 266. Protest at Ephesus: *ACO* I, 4, pp. 27-30; Tenedos and Anastasios: 1.7, pp. 137-138; 4, pp. 46, 67, 242.

For the inscription at Eresos, see ORLANDOS, Βασιλικάι 38; PELEKANIDES, Σύνταγμα, v. 1 128-129: “ἐπληρώθη τὸ ἔργον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐπισκ[όπου] ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ καὶ κ[αρπ]οφορήσαντος.”

Bibl.: FEDALTO, Hierarchia 215; KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 149-154; DESTEPHEN, Prosopographie: Ioannès 11.

28. Ioannes (Εἰωάν[νης])

D 6th c.

B An Ioannes (Εἰωάν[νου]) is mentioned in one of the votive inscriptions carved upon an architectural element of the early Christian basilica of Argala, a few miles south of Mytilene.

S EUANGELIDES, Βασιλική 17-18.

Bibl.: KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-193.

29. Ioannes (Ἰωάννης)

D 4th-7th c.

B A priest Ioannes is mentioned in what is probably a dedicatory inscription, carved upon an architectural element belonging to an early Christian basilica, located in all probability on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Kallone, near the modern village of Polichnitos. The inscription contains an indiction date that can no longer be reconstructed and claims that “the name of the priest was Ioannes.”

S CHARITONIDES, Τοπογραφία 32: “τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ ἱερέως Ἰωάννης ἐστίν.”

Bibl.: KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-193.

30. Isidoros (Ἰσίδωρος)

D First half of the 5th c.

B Isidoros undertook the construction of part of the mosaic floor of the early Christian basilica of St Andreas at Eresos. His contribution was duly honored by an inscription set within the mosaic itself.

S ORLANDOS, Βασιλικάι 39; and PELEKANIDES, Σύνταγμα, v. 1 128: “Εὐξάμενος Ἰσίδωρος ἐψήφωσα δειάχωρον ἔν.”

Bibl.: KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-193.

31. Isidoros

D Ca. 490

B In his *Life of Severos* (which survives only in Syriac translation), the Monophysite author and later bishop of Mytilene Zacharias mentions two brothers from Mytilene, Zenodotos and Isidoros, who studied in Alexandria in the 480s. Along with Zacharias himself, Zenodotos (though not Isidoros) belonged to the paraecclesiastical group of the *philoponoi*, lay Christians who volunteered for various Church services and specialized in agitprop against the Hellenic community. After a series of successful attacks against

various forms of pagan belief, Isidoros decided to become baptized as a Christian. It seems therefore that the two brothers did not entirely agree on matters of religion, at least originally.

- S** Zacharias, *Life of Severos*, ed. KUGENER pp. 23-26, 37: "...nous nous approchâmes au nombre de trois: moi, Thomas le sophiste, qui aime le Christ en toute chose (il est comme moi de Gaza) et Zénodote de Lesbos. Comme nous nous trouvions constamment dans les saintes églises avec ceux qu'on appelle (à Alexandrie) φιλόπονοι, qui sont appelés en d'autres *zélateurs* et dans d'autres encore *compagnons*, et que nous leur faux élèves païens, paraissions dans une certaine mesure redoutables, ... Après le départ des élèves d'Aphthonios nous restâmes au nombre de cinq: Paralios qui, avant le baptême, était confesseur; l'illustre Ménas que j'ai mentionné plus haut; Zénodotos de Mitylène, ville de Lesbos, ville de Lesbos, Démétrios de Sulmone (?), tous les quatre d'ardents champions (ἀγωνισταί) de la crainte de Dieu... Paralios, après avoir offert à Dieu un exploit de ce genre, reçut le baptême rédempteur, lorsque la fête de Pâques arrive, en même temps que beaucoup de païens qui avaient été pleins de zèle pour l'idolâtrie jusqu'à leur vieillesse et avaient servi longtemps les démons pervers. Avec lui fut aussi baptisé l'admirable Urbanus, qui est aujourd'hui, dans cette ville impériale, professeur de grammaire latine, et Isidore de Lesbos, frère de Zénodotos que j'ai mentionné plus haut, ainsi que beaucoup d'autres." (extracts cited after the French tr.)

Bibl.: for the *philoponoi* of Alexandria and the events of that decade, see TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion*, v. 2 1-20; and HAAS, *Alexandria* 238-240.

32. Kyros (Κῦρος)

D Second quarter of the 5th c.

B Addressee of Theodoretos, *Letter* 13, otherwise unknown (though possibly identical with the Kyros who received *Letter* 137). Theodoret mentions Kyros' high birth (σου τῇ εὐγενείᾳ) and thanks him for a gift of Lesbian wine, sending him some honey in return.

S Theodoretos, *Letter* 13, ed. AZÉMA v. 2, pp. 44-45: "τὴν μὲν Λέσβον ἀκούω τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις, τὴν τε Μιτυλήνην καὶ Μήθυμναν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἡγνόουν δὲ τὸν τῆς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τρεφομένης ἀμπέλου καρπὸν, νῦν δὲ τοῦτον διὰ τῆς σῆς φιλοπονίας μεμάθηκα ..."; cf. *Letter* 137, ed. AZÉMA v. 3, pp. 136-139.

Bibl.: *PLRE* 2 336: Cyrus 2; for Lesbian wine, see KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 51-55. As MOUTZOURIS, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 224, rightly notes, there is no reason to include Kyros among the island's bishops, as others have done.

33. Kyzikios (Κυζίκιος)

D Ca. 300

B Tenant-farmer (*colonus*) attested in the Diocletianic land-registers. He owned a horse together with Elpidéphoros on a plot of land called Teichea.

S *IG* 12.2 # 76, col e, lines 8-10.

Bibl.: for the tenant-farmers of these inscriptions, see JONES, *Census Records* 51, 53, 57.

34. Onesimos (Ὀνήσιμος)

D Ca. 300

B Tenant-farmer (*colonus*) attested in the Diocletianic land-registers (he is called γεωργός).

S *IG* 12.2 # 78, col a, lines 4, 8.

Bibl.: for the tenant-farmers of these inscriptions, see JONES, *Census Records* 51, 53, 57.

35. Onesimos (Ὀνήσιμος)**D** 5th-6th c.**B** *Palatinus* and former *defensor* (ἑκδικος) who financed the mosaic floor of the early Christian basilica of Aphentelli at Eresos. His contribution was duly honored by an inscription set within the mosaic itself.**S** Ὀνήσιμος παλατεῖνος κὲ ἀπ' ἐγδίκων ἐκέντησεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον κὲ τὸ ἐν βασιλικόν.**Bibl.:** for the inscription, see ORLANDOS, Βασιλικάι 69-71, with commentary; PELEKANIDES, Σύνταγμα v. 1 132. For *palatini* and *defensores* in the later Roman period, see JONES, *LRE*, passim; for ecclesiastical *defensores*, see LEONTARITOU, Εκκλησιαστικά αξιώματα 197-213. For Onesimos' dedications, see KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-193.**36. Pappikios (Παππίκιος)****D** Second half of the 6th c.**B** Pappikios was a presbyter when the mosaic of the early Christian basilica at Ypsilometopo was laid in place. The mosaic contains two inscriptions, one on behalf of Pappikios, and another honoring the patrons Anatolios and his wife Tryphena.**S** Ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς Παππικίου πρεσβυτέρου.**Bibl.:** for the inscription, see ORLANDOS, Βασιλικάι 26; PELEKANIDES, Σύνταγμα, v. 1 134; in general, KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-193.**37. Philodespotos (Φιλοδέσποτος)****D** Ca. 300**B** Tenant-farmer (*colonus*) attested in the Diocletianic land-registers. He grazed four oxen and twenty goats on a plot of land called Aktaon. His name ("loyal friend of his master") indicates that he may have once been a slave named by his master.**S** IG 12.2 # 76, col f, lines 6-8.**Bibl.:** for the tenant-farmers of these inscriptions, see JONES, Census Records 51, 53, 57.**38. Phlorentios (Φλωρέντιος), bishop of Lesbos****D** 449-451**B** Bishop of Lesbos who signed the decisions of both the "Robber Council" of Ephesos (449) and the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451). At the Council of Ephesos he appears as "Florentius episcopus Tenedu et Pordoselenae et littorum," in other words, the chief name of his see has somehow dropped out. But there is no doubt that this is the same Phlorentios who signed, through the hand of his rural bishop' Euelpistos, the deposition of Dioskoros two years later at Chalcedon as "ἐπίσκοπος Τενέδου, Λέσβου, Ποροσελήνης καὶ τῶν Αἰγιαλῶν."

Phlorentios was one of 120 bishops who signed the decisions of both Councils. At Chalcedon they performed an interesting ritual of atonement: "Οἱ Ἀνατολικοὶ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐξεβόησαν· Πάντες ἡμάρτομεν, πάντες συγγνώμην αἰτοῦμεν." They were duly forgiven.

S Ephesos: *ACO* II (Chalcedon/Ephesus II), 3.1, p. 256; Chalcedon: *ACO* II (Chalcedon), 1.2, p. 40; atonement: 1.1, p. 94.**Bibl.:** FEDALTO, Hierarchia 215. For the "Robber Council" of Ephesos, see FRIEND, Rise 24-44; for the episcopal lists, see HONIGMANN, Original Lists 28-41 (Phlorentios on 36). For Phlorentios, see KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 154-158 and DESTEPHEN, Prosopographie: Flôrentios 3.

39. Thallos (Θάλλος), bishop of Lesbos

D After 363

B Heterousian bishop of Mytilene, consecrated by Aetios and Eunomios, who decided sometime after the death of the emperor Julian (361-363) to create a separate ecclesiastical hierarchy for those Christians who accepted their doctrine of the dissimilarity in substance between the Son and the Father. According to the fifth-century ecclesiastical historian Philostorgios, Thallos was consecrated after the death of the island's previous bishop, presumably Euagrios. This suggests that the heterousians on Lesbos did not form an entirely schismatic Church; it is possible that the wider Christian community accepted Thallos as the legitimate successor of Euagrios, who had been active on behalf of homoian doctrines.

It is possible (though very unlikely) that Θάλλον is a manuscript mistake for ἄλλον, which, however, would call into question only the name of the heterousian bishop.

S Philostorgios, *Ecclesiastical History* 8.2, ed. BIDEZ p. 105: “εἰς δὲ τὴν Λέσβον, τοῦ ταύτης ἀποιχομένου ποιμένος, χειροτονοῦσι Θάλλον.”

Bibl.: for the heterousian Church, see HANSON, *Arian Controversy* 602-603. For Thallos, MOUTZOURIS, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 183-184 and DESTEPHEN, *Prosopographie: Thallos*.

40. Tharsikios (Θαρσίκιος)

D 6th c.

B A Tharsikios is mentioned in one of the votive inscriptions carved upon an architectural element of the early Christian basilica of Argala, a few miles south of Mytilene.

S EUANGELIDES, *Βασιλική* 17-18.

Bibl.: KALDELLIS, *Λέσβος* 190-193.

41. Timagoras (Τιμαγόρας)

D First half of the 5th c.

B Presbyter and *oikonomos* at Eresos, Timagoras undertook the construction of part of the mosaic floor of the early Christian basilica of St Andreas, using for that purpose funds donated by the faithful. His efforts were duly honored by an inscription set within the mosaic itself.

S Τιμαγόρας πρεσβύτερος καὶ οἰκονόμος ἐποίησα ἀπὸ καρποφοριῶν.

Bibl.: for the inscription, see ORLANDOS, *Βασιλικαί* 40; PELEKANIDES, *Σύνταγμα*, v. 1 128; for the position of *oikonomos* in the early Church, see LEONTARITOU, *Εκκλησιαστικά αξιώματα* 352-435; in general, KALDELLIS, *Λέσβος* 190-193.

42. Timesias (Τιμησίας)

D First half of the 5th c.

B Timesias undertook the construction of part of the mosaic floor of the early Christian basilica of St Andreas at Eresos. His contribution was duly honored by an inscription set within the mosaic itself.

S Ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Τιμησίου κᾶπαντος τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἐποίησα τὸ διάχωρον ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Bibl.: for the inscription, see ORLANDOS, *Βασιλικαί* 39; PELEKANIDES, *Σύνταγμα*, v. 1, 129; in general, KALDELLIS, *Λέσβος* 190-193.

43. Tryphena (Τρύφена)

D Second half of the 6th c.

B Anatolios and his wife Tryphena paid for the mosaic on the floor of the early Christian basilica at Ypsilometopo, which duly incorporated an inscription honoring their benefaction. The final letters have been interpreted as the 8th indiction, the two S's being purely decorative.

S ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Ἀνατολίου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Τρυφένης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἐπήφωσεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον · ιν · d · SHS.

Bibl.: for the inscription, see ORLANDOS, Βασιλικαί 27–28; PELEKANIDES, Σύνταγμα, v. 1 134; in general, KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190–193.

44. Zacharias (Ζαχαρίας), metropolitan of Mytilene

D 536

B Prominent Monophysite writer who later became bishop of Mytilene and participated in the Council of 536 in Constantinople. Born around 465–466 near Gaza, he studied rhetoric and philosophy under the famous Ammonios in Alexandria, where he also met the two brothers from Mytilene Zenodotos and Isidoros, before going on to study law in Beirut. His friend throughout those years was Severos, the future Patriarch of Antioch and Monophysite theologian, whose *Life* Zacharias was to write. After Beirut, Zacharias practiced law in Constantinople. He wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* of the period 450–491, with a strong Monophysite bias, which survives in Syriac epitome. He also composed the *Lives* of various Monophysite holy men and priests, as well as two theological works, the dialogue *Ammonios*, in which he attacked his teacher's views on the immortality of the world, and a *Refutation* of the Manichaeans, on the occasion of the emperor Justinian's renewed persecution of them.

Zacharias appears as the bishop of Mytilene in the acts of the Council of Constantinople of 536, which was held under the Patriarch Menas (536–552). The Council convened five times: Zacharias was present on the first four occasions (on 2, 6, 10, and 21 May). On the 4th day the Council condemned the previous patriarch Anthimos, who had been deposed for sympathizing with the views of Severos of Antioch, but Zacharias' signature is absent, despite his attendance on that day. On the fifth session (4 June), when the Council condemned and anathematized Severos himself, Zacharias did not even attend. Contrary to the views of some historians, it seems that he remained true to his friend and the beliefs of his youth. Unfortunately, we know nothing about his activities in Mytilene itself or his relationship with the Christian community there.

S *ACO* (Const. a. 536), 3, pp. 126 (Ζαχαρίου τῆς Μιτυληναίων μητροπόλεως), 154, 162, 170.

Bibl.: *PLRE* 2 1194–5: Zacharias 4; FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 215; for bibliography and brief discussion, see M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. Turnhout 1974–, v. 3 323–324 (# 6995–7001); KARPOZELOS, *Ἱστορικοί*, v. 1 219–221; MOUTZOURIS, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 185–186; KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 160–168 and Appendix 2 (218–220); DESTEPHEN, *Prosopographie: Zacharias I*.

45. Zenodotos

D Ca. 490

B In his *Life of Severos* (which survives only in Syriac translation), the Monophysite author and later bishop of Mytilene Zacharias mentions two brothers from Mytilene, Zenodotos and Isidoros 1, who studied in Alexandria in the 480s. Along with Zacharias himself, Zenodotos (though not his brother) belonged to the paraecclesiastical group of the *philoponoi*, lay Christians who volunteered for various Church services and specialized in agitprop against the Hellenic community.

S Zacharias, *Life of Severos*, ed. KUGENER pp. 23–26, 37: text as in *Isidoros*.

Bibl.: for the *philoponoi* of Alexandria and the events of that decade, see TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion*, v. 2 1–20; and HAAS, *Alexandria* 238–240.

ANONYMOUS

46. Anonymous deacon

D First half of the 5th c.

B Deacon who undertook the construction of part of the mosaic floor of the early Christian basilica of St Andreas at Eresos. His contribution was duly honored by an inscription set within the mosaic itself.

S ORLANDOS, Βασιλικάι 41: “... διάκονος εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ κάπαντος τοῦ οἴκου μου ἐποίησα τὸ διάχωρον.”

Bibl.: KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-193.

47. Anonymous governor

D 365

B Governor of Lesbos under the ill-fated usurper Prokopios. According to Philostorgios, the island fell into the power of the rebel Prokopios, who sent his own governor there. This man would have put Aetios and at least two of his associates to death (Errenianos and Gerresianos), on the charge of supporting the emperor Valens, but was prevented by another (anonymous) high-placed official serving Prokopios, who was related to Aetios' friends and who threatened the governor (τὸν καταδικασμένον αὐτοὺς ἀπειλήσας).

S Philostorgios, *Ecclesiastical History* 9.6, ed. BIDEZ p. 118: “ὁ τῆς νήσου παρὰ τοῦ Προκοπίου σταλεῖς ἄρχειν”; for the full text, see as in *Aetios*.

Bibl.: as in *Aetios*.

48. Anonymous official

D 365

B High-placed official of the ill-fated rebel Prokopios, who rushed to Lesbos in order to save the lives of his two relatives Errenianos and Gerresianos. The two brothers had been accused, along with Aetios, of supporting the emperor Valens, and were about to be put to death by Prokopios' (anonymous) local governor.

S Philostorgios, *Ecclesiastical History* 9.6, ed. BIDEZ p. 118: “... τις ἀφικόμενος ... τῶν παραδυναστευόντων Προκοπίῳ ...”; full text as in *Aetios*.

Bibl.: as in *Aetios*.

49. Anonymous presbyter

D First half of the 5th c.

B Presbyter who undertook the construction of part of the mosaic floor of the early Christian basilica of St Andreas at Eresos. His contribution was duly honored by an inscription set within the mosaic itself.

S ORLANDOS, Βασιλικάι 41: “Ε...πρεσβύτερος ἐπύησα τὸ διάχωρον.”

Bibl.: KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-193.

50. Anonymous presbyter and *hegoumenos*

D 6th c.

B Πρεσβύτερος and ἡγούμενος mentioned in an inscription upon an architectural element from the early Christian basilica of Argala, a few miles south of Mytilene.

S EUANGELIDES, Βασιλική 15.

Bibl.: KALDELLIS, Λέσβος 190-193.

II. THE MIDDLE PERIOD: 650-1204 A.D.

51. Ablabios (Ἀβλάβιος)

D Unknown

B An inscription, regarded as Christian from the type of lettering and the name, has been incorporated into the Castle of Mytilene. The emendation Ἀβλαβίου τοῦ ἱερομονάχου was proposed by Papageorgiou.

S *IG* 12.2 # 396 = *IG* 12 Suppl. p. 27 = PAPAGEORGIU, *Inscripfen* 21 (# 90) = GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil* 54 (# 150): “Ἀβλαβίου τουι ου κλιτ”.

Bibl.: CHARITONIDES, *Τοπογραφία* 18.

52. Alopas (Ἀλωπός)

D 1088-1089

B Imperial *kourator* of Lesbos; in ca. 1089, when the island was threatened by Tzachas he was forced to leave for the capital. Following his departure, the Seljuk emir conquered Lesbos except for the town of Methymna. In the *Alexiad* Alopas appears only with his last name.

In the course of the 11th and 12th c. several individuals bore the family name Alopas, probably deriving from the word ἄλωπηξ (fox); some are known to have been active on Rhodes (e.g., Theodoros Alopas in Michael Psellos, *Letter KD* 50, ed. KURTZ and DREXL pp. 82-83; and Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. Thurn p. 496.82-83) as well as in the region of the river Maiandros [e.g., Michael Alopas in WILSON and DARROUZÈS, *Hiera-Xérochoraphion*, 18 (= *NE* 11 [1914] 405 and *MM* V, 256ff.)].

Ahrweiler wonders if the family of Alopoi originated from Smyrne. A document dating from ca. 1108 mentions a Lazaros, abbot of the monastery τοῦ Ἀλωποῦ (*Actes de Lavra* I 299, 60).

S Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 7.8.1 (ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS p. 222): “... κακεῖθεν ἀποστείλας πρὸς τὸν τὴν διοίκησιν Μιτυλήνης ἐμπειστευμένον κουράτορα τὸν Ἀλωπὸν ...”.

Bibl.: PAPADEMETRIOU, *Prodrom* 347-348; AHRWEILER, *Smyrne* 157; SKOULATOS, *Alexiade* 15; KAZHDAN, *Sostav* 91 (mentions 15 persons with Alopas as a family name), 190, 203, 222; also KAZHDAN and RONCHEY, *L'aristocrazia* 337, 359; SAVVIDES, *Τζαχὰς* 17; VRANOSSI, *Ἐγγραφα Πάτμου* 68; *Μικρὰ Ἀσία τῶν θεμάτων* 364; *EPLBHC* II 70-71; LOUIZIDIS, *Κουράτορας* 34-35. On *kouratores* see *ODB* 1155-1156; KAPLAN, *Maisons impériales* 355-358; IDEM, *Les hommes et la terre* 313-316; CHEYNET, *Épiskeptitai* 91-92.

53. [Anastasopoulina] Maria (Μαρία)

D 12th c. (or 11th c.?)

B Wife of Georgios and mother of St Gregorios of Assos, probably hailing from Akorne in the area of Gera and coming from a wealthy family like her husband Georgios Anastasopoulos. Following a period of barrenness, she was eventually able to conceive a child after imploring God. While her son Gregorios was kept as a hostage in the imperial palace, Maria fed the poor of the island spending the equivalent amount of money she would have had to spend for her son. She never met him again except for once, when Gregorios' wanderings on Lesbos brought him to his native village of Akorne. Maria recognized her son only after he had left. Upon her insistent requests to venerate St Gregorios' relics on the third day after his demise, she was allowed to pass through the crowd and come close to his tomb. Willing to know whether this was her son and not someone else, she asked Leontios, the saint's disciple, to check for a mark on his breast. Once this identification took place, the mother did not depart from the tomb and the monastery of Gregorios but, after taking the monastic habit, lived there until her demise.

Her name is missing from the *Synaxarion* notice by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (*BHG* 710c).

S a) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Patmos), ed. HALKIN p. 7; ed. SOPHIANOS p. 320: “...γονέων δ’ ἔφυ πανευσεβῶν καὶ φιλαρέτων· ὄνομα τῷ μὲν πατρὶ Γεωργίῳ τὸ ἐπὶ κλὴν Ἀναστασόπουλος, τῇ μητρὶ δὲ Μαρία, πλούσιοι καὶ εὐθνηοῦντες κατὰ τὸν βίον· τῇ γὰρ εὐσεβείᾳ συνεπλήνθη καὶ ὁ σωματικὸς σφίσι πλοῦτος...” and *ibid.* 307-308, 317-318 for the *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Megiste Lavra): “...γονέων δὲ πανευσεβῶν καὶ φιλαρέτων· ὄνομα τῷ μὲν πατρὶ Γεώργιος τὸ ἐπὶ κλὴν Ἀναστασόπουλος, τῇ δὲ μητρὶ Μαρία· πλούσιοι καὶ εὐθνηοῦντες κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ συζῶντες... καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ ἁγίου μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὡς ὥδὲ οὐκ ἔδυνήθη ἀπὸ τῆς συνεχείας τοῦ πλήθους πλησιάσαι, ἀνέκραξε μετ’ οἰμωγῆς καὶ πολλῶν δακρύων ὀδυρομένη καὶ λέγουσα· «Ἐλεήσατέ μοι ἰδέσθαι τὸ γλυκύτατο<v> μου ἄρνιον, ὃ καὶ γεννήσασα καὶ θηλάσασα οὐδόλως ἔθεασάμην, ἀποχωρήσα<v>τός μοι. Κατοικτεῖραντες δὲ αὐτήν, πρὸς τὸν μαθητὴν Λεόντιον ἔφη· «Περὶ τὸ στήθος ψηλάφησον αὐτὸν καὶ εἴπερ τὸδε σημεῖον εὔρης, οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ υἱός μου.» Καὶ εὐρών, καὶ περιπλακείσα κατεφίλει περιπαθῶς...”

b) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (*Synaxarion*), ed. HALKIN pp. 30-31; ed. SOPHIANOS pp. 347-349.

Bibl.: PHOUNTOULIS, Ἡ μητέρα τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου 93-101.

54. Anastasopoulos Georgios (Ἀναστασόπουλος Γεώργιος)

D 12th c. (or 11th c.?)

B Father of St Gregorios of Assos, hailing from Akorne in the area of Gera; married to Maria; both are referred to as πλούσιοι καὶ εὐθνηοῦντες κατὰ τὸν βίον. When, after a long absence, Gregorios returned to his homeland and accidentally met his mother, his father must have already been dead. While the long *vita* fails to be precise, this is explicitly reported in the *Synaxarion* notice compiled by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos; in this text, however, the first and family names of both parents are omitted.

As a family name, Anastasopoulos is attested only for a clergyman Ioannes from Thessalonike who lived in the first half of the 14th c. (see *PLP* 91175).

S a) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Patmos), ed. HALKIN p. 7; ed. SOPHIANOS p. 320 and 307-308 for the *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Megiste Lavra): as in [*Anastasopoulina*] *Maria*.

b) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (*Synaxarion*), ed. HALKIN pp. 30-31; ed. SOPHIANOS pp. 347-348.

55. Andreas bishop of Methymna (Ἀνδρέας)

D 680/1

B Bishop of Methymna who participated in the 6th Ecumenical Council. In the 8th session, after the dyothelite Testimonia were read out by the delegates of the pope Agathon, he pronounced a confession in their favour. In other instances he is only referred to as having signed the council's decrees.

S *ACO* II/2/1-2 200.12-16; 16.33; 30.2; 38.13; 48.36; 164.6; 174.3; 184.5; 194.2; 264.30; 282.2; 518.8; 668.21; 686.26; 708.6; 756.32; 736.17; 786.5; 825.23; 894.1. Also *MANSI* XI 212A, 220A, 224C, 232A, 324B, 329A, 333D-E, 337D, 380D, 389C, 457E, 520E, 552C, 585A, 604E, 613C, 628A: “ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Μεθυμνέων (or Μεθυμναίων) πόλεως τῶν Λεσβίων νήσου.”

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 355; *PBE*: Andreas 8; *FEDALTO*, Hierarchia 214; *MOUTZOURES*, Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης 199; *CHRYSSOS*, Entstehung 272; *RIEDINGER*, Subskriptionslisten 26 (no. 50).

56. Andreas of Crete (Ἀνδρέας)

D d. 4 July, 740

B Poet, ecclesiastical orator, and saint; born in Arab-held Damascus in ca 660, he was tonsured a monk at the monastery of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. In the year 695 he was sent to Constantinople to deliver to the emperor the confession of right faith signed by the patriarch of Jerusalem. At the emperor Justinian II's behest, he was first ordained deacon and then entrusted with the directorship of an orphanage. Some time later, he was appointed metropolitan of Crete. His prayers as a prelate were helpful for the deliverance of the island from the Hagarenes' raids, a plague, and a drought. At some point,

Andreas had to leave his see for the Byzantine capital, where he was highly esteemed for his virtue and teaching. Before departing from the capital, he predicted to some friends that he was not to see his metropolitan see ever again. His ship harbored at Eresos on Lesbos, according to his *vita*, not by accident, but after divine providence. He died in this town on the 4th of July in the 8th indiction (i.e., 740) and was buried in the local church of St Anastasia.

The oldest *vita* of St Andreas of Crete is that by Niketas (*BHG* 113), but his hagiography comprises four other texts: an anonymous *Laudation* (*BHG* 114b) dating from before the 11th c., an *Oration* by Ioseph Kalothetos (14th c.-*BHG* 114c), and a *vita* by Makarios Makres (15th c.-*BHG* 114). Regarding the death of the saint at Eresos, the only text to report something different is that by Ioseph Kalothetos: while sailing to Crete Andreas fell seriously ill and died on board. His body was buried at Eresos where, some years later, a church was built and dedicated to him. In the meantime the local people had variously benefitted from the miraculous power of his relics.

Various reasons have been put forward both as to why Andreas had to leave his see for Constantinople and why he died at Eresos. It has even been suggested that he was invited to the capital in 730 in order to sign the “iconoclastic” *silention* of Leon III, but, refusing to do so, was exiled to Lesbos (MALAMUT, *Route des saints*, 115). Based on what is transmitted in the short version *BHG* 114a, Phountoulis held that Andreas composed his famous *Megas Kanon* on Lesbos.

- S a) Niketas, *Life of St Andreas of Crete*, ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS pp. 177-178; ed. SKALTSES p. 393: “...ἀπέλυσε ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ τὴν νῆσον τὴν οὕτω καλουμένην Μιτυλήνην καταλαβὼν προσώρμισεν, οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ἐν τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Ἐρισσῷ καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖσε κατάπαυσιν αἰρετισάμενος ... ἐκεῖσε κεκοίμηται... καὶ ἡ κοίτη τῆς ἀναπαύσεως αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ἁγίας μάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀπεκδέχεται τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν διὰ σάλπιγγος ἀνάστασιν... ἡ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ κοίμησις αὐτοῦ γέγονε κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην τοῦ ἰουλίου μηνὸς ἰνδικτιῶνος ὀγδόης ...”
- b) *Epitome BHG* 114a, ed. LATYŠEV, *Menologium* 136-137: “Τὴν ἐπάνοδον οὖν διὰ θαλάσσης ποιούμενος τὴν Μιτυλήνην καταλαμβάνει καὶ τῇ Ἐριστῇ (πόλις δὲ μία τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεων αὕτη) προσβαλὼν νόσῳ περιπίπτει τινί, θάνατον ἀπειλούσῃ τῷ μάκαρι· ὅπου δὲ καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον λέγεται μέλος τῆς μακρᾶς αὐτὸν ὑμνωδίας ἐκθεῖναι, πάσης κατανύξεως πλήρες καὶ παντὸς παραδείγματος μετανοίας μεστόν. Ἐν ταύτῃ τοῖνον καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπολιπὼν πρὸς τὰς αἰδίους παγγέραστε, μετετέθης μονάς, καλῶς ἀνταλλαξάμενος τῶν παρόντων τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ μένοντα.”
- c) *Laudation of St Andreas of Crete*, ed. DETORAKIS p. 94; reprinted in Hagios Andreas Kretes 415: “ἀπαίρει ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ τὴν νῆσον τὴν καλουμένην Μιτυλήνην καταλαβὼν, οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πρόνοιαν θειοτέραν, καὶ ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῷ οὕτω λεγομένῳ Ἐρεσσῷ προσορμίσας ἀρρωστίᾳ περιπίπτει. Καὶ ὀλίγα νοσήσας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπανεπαύσατο τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ ζώντος παραθέμενος, τὸ δὲ σῶμα χερσὶ φιλοῦντων καταλείψας. Οἱ καὶ κατέθεντο ἐντίμως κηδεύσαντες ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀθλοφόρου Ἀναστασίας σηκῷ, ...”
- d) Ioseph Kalothetos, *Oration on St Andreas of Crete*, ed. TSAMES pp. 448-449; reprint in Hagios Andreas Kretes pp. 433-434: “... ἐπανόδου ἐμνήσθη τῆς πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι φερούσης ὁ ἅγιος καὶ νηὸς ἐπιβάς εὐθὺς Μιτυλήνης ἦλauen ... Ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τὸν δυστυχῆ πλοῦν ἐκείνον νόσος ἐνσκήψασα τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐξαίρει τοῦ βίου καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἀκύμαντον γαλήνην παραπέμπει. Προσσχόντες γοῦν πολυχνίῳ τινὶ τῆς νήσου Μιτυλήνης, ὁ Ἐρισσὸς καλεῖται – ἐκεῖ γὰρ παρέπλεον – τηνικαῦτα τῆς νεὼς ἀποβάντες ἐξαγουσι τὸν ἅγιον καὶ περιστεύσαντες πάντα τὰ νενομισμένα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τελέσαντες οἱ τε αὐτῷ μαθητευόμενοι, οἱ τε ναυτιλλόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῆς νήσου ἔποικοι τῇ γῇ κατακρύπτουσι τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκείνου σῶμα, φυλακτῆριον ἔχοντες αὐτό... Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ναὸν ἐπήγειραν αὐτῷ εἰς διαιωνίζουσαν παραπέμποντες τὴν μνήμην αὐτοῦ ...”
- e) Makarios Makres, *Life of St Andreas of Crete*, ed. LAOURDAS pp. 73-74; ed. ARGYRIU p. 139: “Καὶ προσίσχει τὸ μὲν πλοῖον τῇ Λέσβῳ, ὁ δὲ αἰόιδιμος τὸν χώρον πυθόμενος ὅστις εἴη, καὶ ὅτι δὴ καλοῖτο Ἱερισσός, ἐνταῦθ’ εἶπε δεῖ με τὴν εἰκόνα ἀποδοῦναι τῷ δεδωκότι Θεῷ ... Τὸ δὲ τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐνδιαίτημα, τὸ σκῆνος τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας ναῷ κατατίθεται ...”
- f) *SynaxCP* 798: “... καὶ ἐν τινι γενόμενος νήσῳ καλουμένην Ἱερισσῷ τῇ πλησίον Μιτυλήνης, καταλύει τὸν βίον ...”

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 362; *PBE*: Andreas 3; *ODB* 92-93; LOPAREV, *Opisanie* 345-347; LAOURDAS, Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας 45-46; DETORAKIS, Οἱ ἅγιοι 160-175; MALAMUT, *Les îles de l’empire byzantin*, v. 1 276; EADEM, *Route des saints* 115 and 150; KOUNTOURA-GALAKI, *Γιὰ τὸν κοινωνικὸ καταμερισμό* 498-499; PHOUNTOULIS, Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν λειψάνων 21-24; IDEM, Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας Κρήτης 59-64;

KODER, Aigaion 161-162 (s.v. Eresos); AUZÉPY, André de Crète 1-12, esp. 4-5 (who, without any basis on the sources, considers that Andreas was exiled to Lesbos and that the church of St Anastasia was located in Constantinople); KAZHDAN, Literature I 37-41; GIANNOULI, Kommentare zum Großen Kanon 28-31; see also the papers in Hagios Andreas Kretes. On the church dedicated to the saint see ORLANDOS, Βασιλικαί 29-41; CHARITONIDES, Τοπογραφία 36-38.

57. Arsaber *dioiketes* of Mytilene (Ἀρσαβήρ)

D First half of the 9th c.

B *Dioiketes* of Mytilene, owner of a 9th-c. seal. Zacos and Veglery considered him to be identical with Arsaber *dioiketes* of Stauroupolis (*PMBZ* 606) and owner of seal 1732ab (= *CBSDO* 66.2).

Another seal belonging to Arsaber, *praitor* and *kourator*, dating from the second half of the 9th century but without any geographical indication, is included in ZACOS, Seals, no. 93 (p. 88). An Arsaber *protospatharios* is the addressee of two of Photios' *Letters* (228 and 233, ed. LAOURDAS and WESTERINK v. 2, 138-146 and 149).

The name Arsaber (Aršaber) is of Armenian origin. *Dioiketai* were tax collectors responsible to the central administration (see OIKONOMIDÈS, Listes, 313 and n. 150 and BRANDES, Finanzverwaltung, 205-225).

S Zacos and Veglery no. 1731 (a) = *CBSDO* 51.1: Obv.: Cruciform invocative monogram. In the quarters: (τ)Ϟ σϞ δούλϞ. Rev.: Θεοτόκε βοήθει [τ]Ϟ σϞ δούλϞ Ἀρσ[α]βήρ δι[οι]κιτῆ Μητιλίνης.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 605; *PBE*: Arsabir 3; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, Τὰ σφραγιστικά κατ'ἀλφειὰ 20-21; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 135; BRANDES, Finanzverwaltung 209 and 214; KAPLAN, Les hommes et la terre 317 n. 265.

58. Basileios bishop of Eresos?

D Early 11th c.

B Owner of a seal. The seal may equally belong to a bishop of Ierissos in Chalkidiki. It was published many times alternatively being ascribed to a bishop of Ierissos or a bishop of Eresos.

S LAURENT, Corpus, V/I no. 756 (p. 578-579): Obv.: “Ο ἄ(γιος) [Δη]μήτριος.” Rev.: “Σφραγὶς Ἐρισοῦ ποιμένος Βασιλείου.”

Also published by LAURENT, Bulles métriques no. 393 (p. 139).

Bibl.: discussion in PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, Histoire d'un évêché byzantin 389 and n. 164; MYSTAKIDES, Ἐπισκοπικοὶ κατάλογοι 179; R. JANIN in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 15 (1963) 699.

59. Basileios metropolitan of Mytilene

D 879

B Metropolitan of Mytilene and participant in the so-called Photian council held in Constantinople in 879. His name is missing from the extant edition of the council's Acts in MANSI. However, as noted by Hergenröther, it figures in other manuscripts (those of *Monacenses gr.* 27 and 43 as well as *Vaticani gr.* 1147, 1183 and 1918) preserving the same text. We checked *Monacensis gr.* 27, f. 387 to verify that the German scholar was right.

Basileios must have succeeded Michael (no. 120) in the metropolitan see of Mytilene.

S *Monacensis gr.* 27, f. 387: “...Θεοδοσίου Πομπηίουπόλεως, Βασιλείου Μιτυλήνης, Λεοντίου Ῥόδου ...”. Cf. HERGENRÖTHER, Photius, v. 2 455 and n. 40; lacuna in MANSI, XVIIA 373D.

Bibl.: MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 188-189.

60. Benjamin of Tudela (or Bar Yonah)

D Between 1160 and 1163

B Jewish traveler hailing from Tudela (Spain) who in the early 1160s visited about 25 Byzantine localities, one of which was the island of Lesbos. He reports that Jewish synagogues can be found in ten different neighborhoods, which perhaps corresponded to ten dispersed Jewish communities around the island. Departing from Kales (modern Çanakkale), a seaport town on the eastern coast of the peninsula of Gallipoli, Benjamin reached the island after a journey of two days. Leaving Mytilene, he departed for the island of Chios.

S Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. ADLER p. 14; ed. LLUBERA p. 65: "From here (sc. Kales) it is two days to the island of Mytilene, and there are Jewish congregations in ten localities on the island. Thence it is three days' voyage to the island of Chios ..."

Bibl.: ODB 282; ANDRÉADÈS, Benjamin; SHARF, Byzantine Jewry 138-139; VAN DER VIN, Travellers, v. 1 24-25; JACOBY, Benjamin of Tudela; LETSIOS, Jewish Communities 119-122.

61. Boutoumites Manuel (Βουτουμίτης Μανουήλ)

D 1092

B A military commander who in 1092, along with Alexandros Euphorbenos, was given as a hostage to Tzachas in exchange for the castle of Mytilene, which was surrendered to Ioannes Doukas.

Anna Komnene refers to him on various occasions and presents him as one of the most important officials of her father; he also took part in diplomatic missions and served both as a governor of Cyprus and as a commander-in-chief of the troops that escorted the Crusaders once they had been dispatched across the Bosphoros.

He was the owner of seal no. 422 in the Orghidan collection: see LAURENT, Collection Orghidan, 215.

As a family name, Boutoumites is of unclear origin with few attestations in the 11th through the early 14th c.

S Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 9.1.7 (ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS p. 260): "...τὸν δὲ διατηρῆσαι αὐτὸν ἀβλαβῆ τὸν ὡς πρὸς Σμύρνην ἀπόπλουν ποιούμενον, δέδωκε τούτῳ τὸν τε Εὐφορβηνὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Μανουήλ τὸν Βουτουμίτην· ἄνδρες οὗτοι φιλοπόλεμοί τε καὶ γενναῖοι..."

Bibl.: SKOULATOS, Alexiade 181-185; CHALANDON, Comnènes, v. 2 671 s.v.; BUCKLER, Anna 536 s.v. For his activities on Cyprus see HILL, Cyprus, v. 1 298-299 and 302. Also ODB 318-319 and EPLBHC V 174-176 (Boutoumites).

62. Christodoulos bishop of Mytilene (Χριστόδουλος)

D Second half of the 7th c.

B His name and office are attested on a seal in Vienna, published by Laurent. According to Wassiliou, the office inscribed on the seal is that of *episkopos*, and not *archiepiskopos*, as Laurent printed it.

S LAURENT, Corpus, V/1 no. 751 (p. 574): Obv.: "Χριστοδούλου." Rev: "ἐπισκόπου Μιτυλήνης." Cf. WASSILIOU, Neue Metropoliten, 114 and n. 5.

Bibl.: PMBZ 1079; PBE: Christodoulos 1; FEDALTO, Hierarchia 215; MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μιτυλήνης 186.

63. Christophoros, presbyter from Mytilene (Χριστοφόρος)

D ± 860 (or 10th c.?)

B A presbyter from the town of Mytilene who, on the commemoration day of St Nikolaos, would often go on pilgrimage to Myra in Lykia and venerate the holy relics (τιμίαν λάρνακα) of the saint. On one such day, he was captured by Arabs and taken prisoner to Crete. The prisoners were divided into three groups, to be decapitated, be imprisoned, or be sold as slaves; the presbyter was allotted death by sword. Yet, as they approached the place of execution, the man, standing in the middle, did not stop beseeching the saint

and praying to be warmly received into the hands of Abraham. While in such a desperate condition, St Nicholas appeared to him as he is depicted in the icons; as the man was about to be executed, the sword fell from the hands of the executioner. When the latter inquired into the cause of the priest's salvation, the man revealed the name of St Nikolaos. Having already heard of the saint's wondrous acts, the executioner finally set free the presbyter and another three prisoners, and saw them all off until they set foot on Roman land.

The story is included in the first (*BHG* 1358) of the *Tria Thaumata* (*BHG* 1358–1360) appended to the so-called *Encomium Methodii* (*BHG* 1352z), i.e., one of the two Praises of St Nikolaos that have come down to us under the name of Methodios, author and patriarch of Constantinople (843–847). According to the editor, the Arab raids and the mention of the town of Samarra in another miracle-story suggest a dating from ± 860 (see Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos, v. 2, 295–296). Because of the interdependence of the presbyter's story with that regarding the kidnapping of the anonymous young man from Lesbos (see no. 169), Kazhdan considered a 10th c.-date to be more likely on historical grounds than the middle of the 9th. Note that the name Christophoros (Χριστοφόρος τοῦνομα) is added after the introductory words πρεσβύτερός τις in only two of the twelve MSS preserving the text (*Vatic. gr.* 824 and *Vindob. theol. gr.* 60).

- S** a) *Tria Thaumata* 42–45 pp.171.9–174.3: “... Πρεσβύτερος δέ τις ἀπὸ Μιτυλήνης ὁρμώμενος - ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ διακειμένη - οὗτος ἐξ ἔθους ἔχων ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου μνήμῃ ἐν Μύροις τῆς Λυκίας ἀπέρχεσθαι προσκυνεῖν τε τὴν τούτου τιμίαν λάρνακα καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναβλύζον ἅγιον μύρον λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ ἀποκομίζεσθαι, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀράβων τῷ τόπῳ ἀλούς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν Κρητῶν νῆσον ἀπεκομίζετο...” (extracts); cf. also *BHG* 1349u in *ibid.* 33, p. 288.
 b) *vita* of St Nikolaos *acephala* 8–9 pp. 271.25–272.12: “... ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλος τις Λέσβιος ἀνὴρ, ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου προκειμένος ὑπὸ Κρητῶν βαρβάρων ἀλούς, δέσμιος συνελαμβάνετο καὶ μεθ’ ἐτέρων τὴν διὰ ξίφους τομὴν καταδεδίκαστο ...” (extracts)
 c) Neophytos the Recluse, *Enkomion of St Nikolaos* 43, pp. 411.15–412.2; also ed. YANGOU v. 3 483 v. 800–826 (§§ 69–70): “Πρεσβύτερος δέ τις ἐκ Μιτυλήνης ὁρμώμενος ἐξ ἔθους εἶχεν ἐτησίως ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐορτῇ ἐν τοῖς Μύροις ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἁγίαν προσκυνεῖν λάρνακα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναβλύζοντος μύρου ἀρύεσθαι. Καὶ ποτε Ἀράβων ἐπιπεσόντων τῇ νήσῳ αἰχμαλωτίζουσι λαὸν πολὺν καὶ τὸν ῥηθέντα πρεσβύτερον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κρητῶν...” (extracts).

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 1128 (not in *PBE*); ANRICH, Hagios Nikolaos, v. 2 406–407; EICKHOFF, Seekrieg und Seepolitik 207–210; KAZHDAN, Notes 176–182; MALAMUT, Route des saints 197–198; TROMBLEY, Popular Religion 135.

64. Dalassenos Konstantinos (Δαλασσηνὸς Κωνσταντῖνος)

D 1091, 1092

B Admiral and distant relative of Alexios I Komnenos, renowned for his military skill. He is first documented as governor in Sinope in ca. 1086. At that time this town was under the control of the Turk Khoratikes. After Siaous, the envoy of the Seljuk sultan, was entrapped by the promises of Alexios I Komnenos and managed to chase away the local emirs from the Pontos area, Konstantinos was appointed a successor to Khoratikes (Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 6.9.6, ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS p. 188). In 1091/1092, he was involved in the struggle against the emir of Smyrne Tzachas after the latter defeated the Byzantine fleet commanded by Niketas Kastamonites. Together with the commander of the army Konstantinos Opos, he first managed to bring back Chios under the control of the Byzantines. Later on, still as a commander of the fleet, he took part in the reconquest of Mytilene, an expedition undertaken jointly with the *meas doux* Ioannes Doukas. When Tzachas tried to flee back to Smyrne, Dalassenos intercepted him offshore and destroyed most of his fleet. In this context, Anna gives him the title of *thalassokrator*.

In 1093, on the occasion of the siege of Abydos by Tzachas, he was confronted anew with the Seljuk emir whom he forced to withdraw.

Konstantinos was probably the owner of two seals dating from the 11th c.: see ŠANDROVSKAJA, Popravki, 102–119: + Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Δαλασσηνοῦ τοῦ Δούκα; also CHEYNET and VANNIER, Études, 103 [citing seal no. 541 from the Fogg collection (pl. V, no. 37)].

Of Armenian descent, the Dalassenoi were one of the most prominent families in 11th c.-Byzantium.

S Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* a) 7.8.3, ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS p. 223: "...τοῦ συμβάντος δὲ τῷ Κασταμονίτῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν εἰδήσει γενόμενος ἕτερον ἐξοπλίζει στόλον ἐπιστήσας δοῦκα τούτου Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Δαλασσηνόν, ἄνδρα μαχιμώτατον καὶ μητρόθεν τούτῳ προσήκοντα ..."

b) 9.1.3-9, *ibid.* p. 261: "...ἐνόσω δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ὁ Δαλασσηνὸς Κωνσταντῖνος θαλασσοκράτωρ τηνικαῦτα ὦν καὶ μήπω ἐφθακῶς, κατὰ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα παρὰ τοῦ Δούκα εἰς ἀκρωτήριόν τι τὰς ναῦς προσορμίσας, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα μεμαθήκοι, ἐλθὼν ἡξίου τὸν Δούκαν παραχωρηθῆναι οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Τζαχᾶ συνάψαι πόλεμον. Ὁ δὲ τὸν προγεγονότα εὐλαβούμενος ὄρκον ἀνεβάλλετο τέως· ὁ δὲ Δαλασσηνὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων, ὡς «σὺ μὲν ὁμώμοκας, ἐγὼ δ' οὐ παρῆν, καὶ σὺ μὲν τήρει ἅς δέδωκας πίστεις ἄρραγείς, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ μήτε παρὼν μήτ' ὁμωμοκῶς μήτε τι τῶν συνδοξάντων ἀμφοῖν γινώσκων, ἐπαποδύσομαι πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τοῦ Τζαχᾶ πόλεμον.» Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Τζαχᾶς τὰ πρυμνήσια λύσας ὡς εἶχε κατευθὺ Σμύρνης τὸν ἀπόπλουν ἐποιεῖτο, καταλαμβάνει τοῦτον ὁ Δαλασσηνὸς θάπτον ἢ λόγος καὶ παραχρήμα προσβαλὼν ἐδίωκεν... ὁ δὲ Δαλασσηνὸς νικητὴς ὑποστρέψας ἐνοῦται τῷ μεγάλῳ δουκί. Καὶ ὁ Δούκας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μιτυλήνην ἀσφαλισάμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Δαλασσηνὸς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπέστρεψε, τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου πολὺ μέρος ἀφελόμενος,..." (extracts).

Bibl.: on the family see *ODB* 578; CHEYNET and VANNIER, *Études* 101-103; ADONTZ, *Études* 163-177; KAZHDAN, *Armiane* 92-97 (no. 16); GUILLAND, *Institutions*, v. 1 540 ff.; VLYSIDOU, *Οἱ ἀπαρχὲς τῆς νέας ἀνόδου* 107-118; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Organisation administrative* 147 (on the title *thalassokrator*). On Konstantinos see ADONTZ, *ibid.*, 168-169; SKOULATOS, *Alexiade* 60-62; GAUTIER, *Diatribes* 13-14; *EPLBHC* VI 119-120.

65. Damianos bishop of Mytilene (Δαμιανός)

D 13 Oct. 787

B One of the 365 bishops who participated in the 7th Ecumenical Council of Nikaia; he signed only the proceedings of the seventh session, where the Council adopted the statement of the faith. In other four sessions there is a lacuna in the place where his name should have appeared.

S MANSI XIII 368B: "Δαμιανοῦ ἐπισκόπου Μιτυλήνης"; and 385C: "Δαμιανὸς ἀνάξιος ἐπίσκοπος Μιτυλήνης."

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 1205; *PBE*: Damianos 4; FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 215; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μιτυλήνης* 186-187; DARROUZÈS, *Listes* 20; LAMBERZ, *Bischofslisten* 52 and n. 208.

66. Daniel, Russian abbot and pilgrim

D 1106-1107

B Author of the earliest extant record by a Russian pilgrim visiting the Holy Land, the abbot Daniel is thought to have come from southern Rus' and to have been identical with the bishop of Suriev in 1115 (died on 9 September 1122). His pilgrimage has been dated to ca. 1106-1107. The island of Lesbos was the seventh station of his voyage, the starting point being Constantinople. The Russian pilgrim came to Mytilene after stopping in Petala (Prokonnesos), Heracleum (Herakleia, modern Eregli), Gallipoli, Abydos, Crite (Krithea), and Tenedos. Mindful as he is to provide brief information on holy spots Daniel refers to Lesbos as a burial place of the holy metropolitan of Mytilene possibly identifiable with one of the iconophile confessors by the name of Georgios. His next stopping point was Chios, of which he gave a more detailed description.

S Daniel, *Pilgrimage*, ed. DE KHITROWO p. 6: "De l'île de Ténédos à l'île de Mitylène on compte cent verstes; le saint métropolitain de Mitylène y est enterré. Il y a cent vestres de Mitylène à l'île de Chios, lieu de sépulture du saint martyr Isidore; cette île produit du mastic, de bon vin et toutes sortes de légumes."

Also tr. WILSON p. 5: "There are 100 versts between Tenedos and the island of Mitylene, where the holy Metropolitan of Mitylene is buried; and from hence to the island of Chios, 100 versts: it is at this place that St. Isidore the martyr reposes. The island produces mastic, excellent wines, and all kinds of vegetables."

Another tr. in WILKINSON, HILL, and RYAN, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage* 122: "And from the island of Tenedos to Mitylene island is 100 versts, and here lies the holy metropolitan of Mitylene. And from Mitylene to

the island of Chios is 100 versts; here lies the holy martyr Isidore, and this island produces mastic and good wine and every kind of vegetable.”

Bibl.: ODB 585-586; TOMASCHEK, *Topographie von Kleinasien* 19; SEEMANN, *Abt Daniil*; WILKINSON, HILL, and RYAN, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage* 9-10, 122-126; GARZANITI, *Daniil egumeno*; DIMITROUKAS, *Reisen* 486-488.

67. David saint (Δαβίδ)

D 717/8-783/4

B Saint of First Iconoclasm; son of Hadrianos and Konstanto, elderly brother of Sts Symeon and Georgios. His biography occupies the first and less detailed part of the *vita* of the three brothers of Lesbos (Chaps. 3-9). According to that text, David was dedicated to the Lord from birth. As a young boy, he was entrusted by his parents to a teacher to learn the “holy letters” (παιδοτρίβη τινὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκπαιδεύεσθαι γράμματα). At the age of nine, after having received basic education (προπαιδείαν) and learned the Psalms of David, he attended to his parents. One day, at the age of 16, while grazing the flocks he had an ecstatic experience; a man clad in monastic garb appeared in a vision and urged the young David to leave his country and head for Mt Ida of Troad on the opposite shore of Lesbos. This was St Antonios, who also predicted that the moribund uncle of David would be healed, whereas his paternal uncle, though not even sick, would soon die. Coming back home with his flock the young boy revealed everything regarding the cure of his relative but still kept secret his own imminent departure. Just before dawn, he rushed to the harbor, embarked upon a ship, and made the crossing to Mt Ida. There he lived for 30 years dwelling in caves and living on herbs. After attaining spiritual perfection, he was mature enough to be invested with the monastic habit. In a dream he saw a magnificent church full of priests, monks, and nuns celebrating the liturgy; no layman, David included, was allowed to enter there. While David was weeping on this account, a man came out from the sanctuary and invited him to become one of them. This invitation was confirmed by a subsequent vision which the ascetic experienced at high noon; after the sun hid its brightness, a young man made his appearance through a brilliant radiance urging him to assume the monastic habit. Being twice notified, David, then aged 45, came down from the mountain to the bishop of Gargara who at that time was hiding in a field because he was afraid of the iconoclastic persecution. From him he received the monastic habit as well as the ordination to the priesthood. This occurred in the 22th year of the reign of Konstantinos V (763). After a sojourn of 14 days, when he learned all the mysteries of the monastic life and the secrets of priesthood, David ran back to Mt Ida where, again following an ecstatic encounter with the angel, he built a monastery dedicated to the holy martyrs Kyrikos and Ioulitta. In the tenth year after the founding of the monastery and in the 56th year of his life, his old mother and her last child Symeon (τὸν παῖδα τὸν ὕστατον, Συμεώνην) came from Lesbos to see him. Divinely informed about this visit, David sent one of his disciples to meet them by the seashore. When his mother arrived at his dwelling, David treated her with profound respect; full of joy she urged him to receive his younger brother and train him in the ascetical exercises. When his brother became twenty-two years old, he was tonsured a monk and was ordained a priest by the aforementioned bishop of Gargara. Two years after this ordination David summoned Symeon and revealed to him that he would depart to the Lord in three days. He admonished his brother to return to their homeland Lesbos which was in need of assistance and where he would have as his ally St Antonios, David’s own protector. After taking communion from the hands of his brother by birth, he passed away having lived sixty-six years in all. Some years after the end of Second Iconoclasm (843) and the deaths of Symeon and Georgios, his remains were transferred from Mt Ida to Lesbos and placed in the same coffin as his brothers.

As narrated in the *ADSG*, the chronology of St David is barely compatible with that of his two brothers, Georgios and Symeon, born in 763/764 and 764/765 respectively. This and other discrepancies (mostly of anachronism) have led scholars to contest their “common” biography.

S *ADSG* 213.18-220.9 (§§ 3–10) and 259.5-8 (§ 37); ed. PHOUNTOLIS pp. 18.41-24.13 (§§ 3-10) and 54.24-27 (§ 37): “...Λέσβος ἐστὶν νῆσος μία τῶν Κυκλάδων, τῷ Αἰγαίῳ λαχοῦσα πελάγει, οὐ πολὺ τῆς Ἑλλησπόντου ἀπέχουσα, τῇ Ἀσιάτιδι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ Εὐρωπαϊᾷ γειτνιάζουσα γῆ. Ἐν ταύτῃ ἱδρύται Μιτυλήνη, ἣ τοὺς παμμάκαρας καὶ τρισολβίους ἐνεγκαμένη πατέρας ἡμῶν, Δαβὶδ λέγω, Συμεὼν καὶ Γεώργιον... ἀπογαλακτισθεὶς δὲ καὶ μεираκίσκος γενόμενος, ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ τῶν γεννητόρων παιδοτρίβη

τινὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκπαιδεύεσθαι γράμματα· ἐννεατῆς ὦν τὴν σωματικὴν ἡλικίαν, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν προπαιδείαν καὶ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ὁμωνύμου τερετίσματα, ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος τοῖς γονεῦσι. Νέμοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ποτε θρέμματα μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ἡλικιωτῶν, ἄφνω γεγόνασιν ἀστραπαὶ φλογώδεις... εἶτα ἐξαίφνης ἀτενίσας ὁρᾷ ἄνδρα ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἱστάμενον ἐν σχήματι μοναχοῦ... «ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἀντώνιος, ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος καὶ τῶν ἐρήμου πολιτῶν προὔχων.» Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, δείξας αὐτῷ τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ἄντικρυς Λέσβου Ἰδαῖον ὄρος ... ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο... ὀρθρου βαθέος γὰρ ἀναστὰς ἔδραμεν ἐν τῷ λιμένι καὶ πλοιάριον εὐτρεπὲς εἰς τὸν ὑποδειχθέντα αὐτῷ τόπον διαπερὼν εὐρηκῶς, ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσελθὼν τὰ κελεύσματα ἐπλήρου... Συμεὼν δὲ ὁ πανόσιος κηδεύσας ἱεροπρεπῶς μετὰ τῶν συνόντων ἀδελφῶν τὸ πολυάθλον ἐκεῖνο καὶ τιμιώτατον σῶμα καὶ ἔνδον τοῦ θεοῦ ναοῦ ἀποθέμενος μετὰ τὴν τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν συμπλήρωσιν πρὸς τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην ὥχετο” and “...μετὰ δὲ τινὰς ὕστερον ὑπὸ φιλοχρίστων χρόνους καὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Δαβὶδ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Λέσβον ἀνακομισθὲν λείψανον σὺν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς ἐν μιᾷ καὶ αὐτὸ κατετέθη τῇ λάρνακι...” (extracts); Engl. tr.: Defenders of Images 153-165 and 240-241.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 1248; *PBE*: David 13; *ODB* 589; *EPLBHC* VI 109-110; PHOUNTOLIS, Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν λειψάνων 31-36; ŠEVČENKO, Hagiography 117-118; MALAMUT, Route des saints 124; Defenders of Images 143-148; KARLIN-HAYTER, Notes 325-350; EADEM, Restoration of Orthodoxy 361-373.

68. Demetrios *dioiketes* of Mytilene (Δημήτριος)

D 9th c.

B Imperial *kandidatos* and *dioiketes* of Mytilene, owner of a 9th-c. seal found at Cherson.

S ALEKSEENKO, Činovniki no. 4, fig. 10 (p. 269-270): Obv.: Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ. Rev.: Δημητρί[ω β(ασιλικῷ) κ]ανδι(ιδάτῳ) (καὶ) δι(ο)υκ(ητῇ) Μυτι(λήνῃς).

Bibl.: ALEKSEENKO, Cherson 80 and 83.

69. Doukas Ioannes (Δούκας Ἰωάννης)

D 1092

B Brother-in-law of Alexios I Komnenos and a high military commander (ca. 1064-before 1136). He was occupied with the liberation of Mytilene from the Seljuk emir Tzachas. On Alexios I Komnenos' orders he was recalled from his campaign at Epidamnos (Dyrrachion) and was named *megas doux* of the fleet, a new title created for his sake. He was ordered to reach Mytilene by land, whereas the other commander of the fleet, Konstantinos Dalassenos, was to follow him sailing near the coast. Upon his arrival at Mytilene he built wooden towers to besiege the castle. The siege lasted three months, but had no result. The news reached the emperor Alexios who, according to Anna Komnene's contention, suggested that the attack should be carried out not during the day, but after sunset. Following this suggestion, Doukas was able to force Tzachas to surrender. An agreement was made and mutual oaths were taken to ensure the Seljuk emir's withdrawal from the island without taking any captives. Thus the Byzantines took two Turkish "satraps" as hostages and gave over their warriors Alexandros Euphorbenos and Manuel Boutoumites. Nonetheless, Tzachas broke his word and sailed away taking the inhabitants of the castle with him. Dalassenos, then stationed with his fleet by a cape, wanted to intervene but was temporarily prevented by Doukas himself on account of the latter's hesitation to break his own oath. However, Dalassenos assured him that this oath did not affect him at all, so he could chase Tzachas. Both Dalassenos and Doukas carried out the expedition successfully, conquered many of Tzachas' ships and put their crews to death. Tzachas, however, managed to escape and return to Smyrne. After he had fortified Mytilene, Doukas freed Samos and other islands of the Aegean from Tzachas and returned to Constantinople, but only for a few days. He was ordered to sail to Crete and suppress the rebellion of Karykes.

Apart from the offensive against Tzachas, Ioannes Doukas was involved in a great number of other campaigns.

For his victory over Tzachas he is congratulated by Theophylaktos, archbishop of Bulgaria, in a letter addressed to him in the second half of 1092.

S Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 9.1.3-9, ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS pp. 259-261: "...μεταπεμφόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου τὸν γυναικάδελφον αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην τὸν Δούκαν μέγαν δοῦκα τοῦ στόλου προεχειρίσατο, καὶ ἡπειρώτας δὲ στρατὸν ἐπίλεκτον ἐπιδοὺς παρεκελεύσατο αὐτὸν μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου τὴν πρὸς τὸν Τζαχὰν πορείαν ποιῆσαι, τῷ δὲ γε Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Δαλασσηνῷ τὴν τοῦ στόλου ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειρίσαι ἐντειλάμενον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡῖονα παραθέειν, ἵν' ἅμα τὴν Μιτυλήνην καταλαβόντες ἐξ ἁμφοῖν θαλάττης τὴν καὶ ἡπείρου τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τζαχὰ συνάψωσι πόλεμον. Καταλαβὼν τοίνυν τὴν Μιτυλήνην ὁ Δούκας παραχρῆμα ξυλίνους κατεσκεύασε πύργους καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀρμητηρίου τινὸς ἐκείθεν ἀφορμῶν καρτερώτερον τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀντικαθίσταται. Ὁ δὲ Τζαχὰς τὴν τῆς Μιτυλήνης φρουρὰν τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ αὐτοῦ Γαλαβάτζῃ προαναθέμενος, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξαρκοῦντα τοῦτον πρὸς μάχας τοιοῦτου ἀνδρὸς ἐγίνωσκε, θάττον φθάσας καὶ πολέμου σχῆμα διατυπώσας ξυμμίγνυται τῷ Δούκᾳ. Καρτερᾶς δὲ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἡ νύξ ταύτην διέλυσε, κᾶκτοτε ὁ Δούκας διὰ τριττῆς σεληνιακῆς περιφορᾶς οὐκ ἐνεδίδου καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν προσβάλλων τὴν τοῖς τείχεσι Μιτυλήνης καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Τζαχὰ λαμπροὺς πολέμους συναίρων ἐξ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς μέχρι δυσμῶν. Καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ἦν τῷ Δούκᾳ τοῦ τοσούτου καμάτου· ὅπερ μανθάνων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἡνίατο καὶ ἡσχαλλεν. Ἐπερωτήσας δὲ ποτε τὸν ἐκείθεν ἐλθόντα στρατιώτην καὶ διαγνοὺς ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τῷ Δούκᾳ ἢ μάχαι τε καὶ πόλεμοι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ καιροῦ ἤρετο, καθ' ὁποίαν ὥραν αἱ μετὰ τοῦ Τζαχὰ μάχαι συνίστανται... καὶ οὕτω μὴ φέρων ὁ Τζαχὰς τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον πολιορκίαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀδιάστατον μάχην μὴ ἐξαρκῶν τὰ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπερωτᾷ τοῦτο καὶ μόνον ἐξαιτούμενος, ἐκχωρηθῆναι οἱ ἀβλαβῇ τὸν πρὸς τὴν Σμύρνην ἀπόπλουν. Πείθεται τούτῳ ὁ Δούκας καὶ λαβὼν ὁμήρους δύο τῶν ἐκκρίτων σατραπῶν, ἐπεὶ κάκεινος αὐθις ἄλλους ἡτεῖτο τὸν Δούκαν ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν μὲν μηδὲνα τῶν Μιτυληναίων ἀδικῆσαι ἐξερχόμενον ἢ συνεπαγαγέσθαι ἀποπλέοντα πρὸς Σμύρνην... εἴτα πίστεις ἐξ ἀλλήλων λαβόντες ὁ μὲν ἀμεριμνίαν ἤδη εἶχε τοῦ μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐξέρχεσθαι τὸν Τζαχὰν βλάβην τινὰ τοῖς Μιτυληναίοις ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ διαπερᾶν μὴ παρὰ τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου κάκωσιν ἐσχηκέναι... πάντας γὰρ τοὺς Μιτυληναίους ἀπεπειρᾶτο σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐαυτῷ συνεπαγαγέσθαι ..."

Related source: Theophylaktos Hephaistos (of Ochrid), *Letter* 8.9-12, ed. GAUTIER p. 153.

Bibl.: DÖLGER, *Regesten* 1168a; POLEMIS, *Doukai* 66-70; SKOULATOS, *Alexiade* 145-150; GUILLAND, *Études de titulature* 223; *EPLBHC* VI 225-226.

70. Eirene (Εἰρήνη)

D Nov. 802-9 Aug. 803

B Wife of the emperor Leon IV (775-780) who ruled first in the name of her son Konstantinos VI (780-792), then shared the throne with him (792-795), and finally reigned as sole emperor (797-802). She was also celebrated as a saint. Overthrown by her finance minister Nikephoros, she was first confined to the palace of Eleutheriou. However, after she swore to him that she would not conceal any part of the imperial treasures, he immediately drove her into exile on the island of Prinkipo. She was confined to the nunnery she had founded. Suspecting then that sympathizers of Eirene would recall her to power or that she was plotting with Aetios, the *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme, Nikephoros banished her to Lesbos ordering that she be guarded and receive no visitors at all. This happened in November 802, a month after Nikephoros' coronation. On the 9th of August 803 Eirene died in exile on Lesbos; her body was transferred to Prinkipo to be interned at her monastery. Being more precise in that respect, her *vita* reports that Eirene was buried in a "new sarcophagus" in the chapel of St Nikolaos. It is possible that this sarcophagus was later transported to the church of the Holy Apostles in the capital (see Konstantinos VII, *The Book of Ceremonies* 2.42, ed. REISKE p. 645).

The *Chronicle* of Ephraim presents facts in the reverse order: Eirene was first exiled to Lesbos, then to Prinkipo. Her *vita* (§ 16) has her exiled to Lesbos but buried on Prinkipo. The *Chronicon Bruxellense* and Michael the Syrian record that Eirene was exiled to Athens and that she died on board. Bar Hebraeus has Eirene exiled to Athens and tonsured a nun.

The first woman to reign as sole ruler in Byzantium was the first known exilee on Lesbos.

S a) Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. DE BOOR p. 479.4-10: "... τῷ Νοεμβρίῳ μηνί, χειμῶνος ἐπικειμένου βαρυτάτου, οὐκ ᾔκτειρεν αὐτὴν προστάξας καὶ παρὰ τινος μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι τὸ σύνολον" and 480,6-9: "τῇ δὲ θ' τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς τῆς ια' ἰνδικτιῶνος ἐτελεύτησεν ἡ βασίλισσα Εἰρήνη ἐν τῇ ἐξορίᾳ τῆς Λέσβου νήσου,

καὶ μετηνέχθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῆς Πριγκίπου, ἐν τῇ μονῇ ἣν αὐτὴ ὠκοδόμησεν.”; Engl. tr.: MANGO and SCOTT, Theophanes, 657-659.

b) Ephraim, *Chronicle*, ed. LAMPSIDES v. 1994-1996 (p. 76): “...εἰς νῆσον ἐξόριστον ἐκπέμπει βίᾳ // ἐπωνυμίαν Πριγκίπου κεκτημένην // εἶτα μετατίθησιν εἰς νῆσον Λέσβον...”

c) *vita* of the empress Eirene 15, ed HALKIN pp. 25-27: “ ... ἀλλ’ ἐξώρισεν αὐτὴν ἐν Λέσβῳ τῇ νήσῳ, ἀσφαλῶς φρουρεῖσθαι αὐτὴν προστάξας ... ”

d) SCHREINER, *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 49: “μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ θ’, ἡμέρᾳ δ’, ἐτελεύτησεν Εἰρήνη βασίλισσα ἐν ἐξορίᾳ Μιτυλήνης ποιήσασα ἐν βασιλείᾳ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτη ε’, ἡμέρας ογ’ καὶ ἕξω τῆς βασιλείας μῆνας θ’.”

Related sources: a) *Chronicon Bruxellense* 32 (λη’): “Νικηφόρος ἀναγορεύεται βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου πεφθεις ὑπὸ Ταρασίου πατριάρχου · ἐξώρισε δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Εἰρήνην ἐν Ἀθήναις ἥτις ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἐτελεύτησεν ... ”; b) Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, v. 3 12-13; c) Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronographia* 120.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 1439; *PBE*: Eirene I; PHOUNTOLIS, Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν λειψάνων 24-26; TREADGOLD, *Revival* 126-133; KÜLZER, *Studien* 445; LILIE, Eirene 291.

71. Erpis or Elpis (Ἐρπίς)

D Middle period?

B A girl whose name appears on a funerary inscription found in the upper castle of Mytilene. Grégoire wonders if the inscription is Christian.

S *IG* 12.2, 444: “in castello superiore penes Berber Scherif, in lapide marmoris fusci” [= GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil* no. 159 (p. 55)]: + Ἐρπίς ἐγὼ ἐπταέτης πέζουσα εἰς] λάκκον ἔνπεσα. Κλαῦσέ με παροδίτα.

72. Euouranites Konstantinos (Εὐουρανίτης Κωνσταντῖνος)

D Between 1025 and 1050

B *Spatharokandidatos*, *asekretis*, and *megas kourator* of Mytilene. Three other seals, coming from the same *boulloterion*, survive with his name and his first two titles.

His family name must have derived from a Constantinopolitan quarter which lay in the vicinity of Hagia Sophia (see JANIN, Constantinople 350). There was also a Church dedicated to the Theotokos ἐν Εὐουράνοις and a monastery τῆς Εὐουρανιωτίσσης (see JANIN, *Géographie* 184).

S ŠANDROVSKAJA and SEIBT, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel* no. 85 (p. 102-103): inscription on both sides: [+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τ]ῷ σῷ δ[ο(ύ)λ(ω)] Κων(σταντίνω) σπ[α]θαρ(ο)κανδ(ι)δ(άτῳ) [ἀσηκρ(ῆ)τ(ις)] (καὶ) μ(ε)γ(άλῳ) κουρ(ά)τ[ορι] [Μ]ητυλίν(ης) [τ]ῷ Εὐουρανίτῃ.

Bibl.: on *kouratores* see *ODB* 1155-1156; KAPLAN, *Maisons impériales* 355-358; IDEM, *Les hommes et la terre* 313-319; CHEYNET, *Épiskeptitai* 91-92.

73. Euphemia (Εὐφημία)

D Middle period?

B Name appearing on a funerary marble inscription that was found in the courtyard of the Vigla Djami in Mytilene.

S *IG* 12.2, 445: “in marmore fusco, ut videtur, integro” [= GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil* no. 160 (p. 55)]: “+ [Τόπ]ος Εὐφημίας. [ὑπὲρ ἀναπ]αύσεώς της.”

74. Euphorbenos Alexandros (Εὐφορβηνὸς Ἀλέξανδρος)

D Spring 1092

B A military official to whom Alexios I Komnenos entrusted the command of an army that tried to reconquer the towns of Apollonias and Kyzikos from the Seljuk emir Elchanes. The whole attempt ended to failure and Euphorbenos was replaced by Konstantinos Opos who became the leader of Byzantine military forces in Asia Minor (Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 6.13.1-2, ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS pp. 197-198). Later on, he was involved in the siege of Mytilene led by Ioannes Doukas and, along with Manuel Boutoumites, he was surrendered as a hostage to Tzachas after the truce signed in spring 1092. In 1105 he accompanied the *megas doux* Isaakios Kontostephanos in the operations against Bohemond (ibid. 12.8.6 and 13.7.2, pp. 380 and 403).

No attestation other than that in the *Alexiad* is known for this person. The name of Euphorbenos was also borne by Konstantinos, governor of Cyprus and one of the most active strategoi during the reign of Alexios I.

S Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 9.1.7, ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS p. 260: as in *Boutoumites Manuel*.

Bibl.: SKOULATOS, *Alexiade* 9-11; AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer* 191, no. 1.

75. Eustratios bishop of Methymna (Εὐστράτιος)

D 787

B Bishop of Methymna who participated in the 7th Ecumenical Council (787). He signed all eight sessions of the council.

S LAMBERZ, *Concilium Nicaenum secundum* 22, no 54: “Εὐστρατίου ἐπίσκοπου Μεθύμνης”; and 202, no 47: “Εὐστράτιος ὁ ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Μεθύμνης...” (also in MANSI XII 994E, 1095D; XIII 141A, 368A, 385A and 486: “Εὐστράτιος ὁ ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Μεθύμνης” and “Εὐστράτιος ἀνάξιος ἐπίσκοπος Μεθύμνης”).

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 1813; *PBE*: Eustratios 2; FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 214; MOUTZOURIS, *Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης* 199; DARROUZÈS, *Listes* 20; LAMBERZ, *Bischofslisten* 50 and n. 195.

76. Eutaxios (?) *dioiketes* of Mytilene

D 9th c.

B *Dioiketes* of Mytilene appearing on a seal of the Zacos collection; his name has been reconstructed after speculation.

S ZACOS and VEGLERY no. 2586 (p. 1395); *CBSDO* II, 51.2 (p. 141): Obv.: Cruciform invocative monogram. In the quarters: “(τ)ῷ σῷ δούλῳ.” Rev.: “Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Εὐτα[ξ]ήῳ διο[ι]κητῇ Μιτ[υ]λήν(ης).”

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 1832; *PBE*: Anonymous 510; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, *Τὰ σφραγιστικά κατόλοιπα* 18-21, who was not able to fully decipher the owner's name. See also BRANDES, *Finanzverwaltung* 215.

77. Galabatzes (Γαλαβάτζης, Yalavach)

D 1092

B Nephew of Tzachas, by whom he was entrusted with the defense of the castle of Mytilene; however, when Ioannes Doukas came to besiege the town and started building wooden towers, Tzachas, realizing that his brother was not able to defend the castle alone, arrived on the island and confronted the Byzantine official.

Strangely enough, the Greek rendering of the Turkish Yalavach (Galabatzes) looks Slavic in origin: cf. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon*, s.v. ГЛАВА.

S Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 9.1.4, ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS p. 259: “ὁ δὲ Τζαχᾶς τὴν τῆς Μιτυλήνης φρουρὰν τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ αὐτοῦ Γαλαβάτζη προαναθέμενος, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξαρκούντα τοῦτον πρὸς μάχας τοιοῦτου ἀνδρὸς ἐγίνωσκε, θάπτον φθάσας καὶ πολέμου σχῆμα διατυπώσας ξυμμίγνυται τῷ Δούκᾳ.”

Bibl.: *EPLBHC* V 239-240; VRYONIS, *Medieval Hellenism* 115.

78. Georgios archbishop of Methymna (Γεώργιος)

D 14 March 1072

B Participant in a *synodos endemousa* that was held in the chapel of St Alexios and signatory of its decree together with another 27 metropolitans and 13 archbishops. The synod concerned the election of bishops.

His name is missing from both the lists of Fedalto and Moutzoures.

S OIKONOMIDÈS, Décret 57: “... Γεωργίου Μηθύμνης ...”

Bibl.: OIKONOMIDÈS, Décret 68.

79. Georgios, bishop of Mytilene (Γεώργιος)

D Before 741?

B The name of a Georgios metropolitan of Mytilene, confessor during the reign of Leon III, receives a passing mention in the *Acta* of the three brothers of Lesbos; furthermore, he is referred to as the one who ordained as priest Georgios (no. 80), Symeon's elder brother.

It is ambiguous whether this is the saint Georgios celebrated on 7 April or 16 May in the SynaxCP (see 589-590 and 687 respectively).

S *ADSG* 220.14-16 and 20-21 (§ 10): “... ἱεραρχοῦντος τῷ τηνικαῦτα τῆς νήσου Γεωργίου τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἰσαύρου Λέοντος γενομένοις χρόνοις” and “... ἐπιθέσει τε τῶν τοῦ ῥηθέντος ἱερωτάτου προέδρου χειρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἀναβιβάσας τιμὴν ...”; ed. PHOUNTOULIS p. 24.19-21 and 27-29 (§ 10); Engl. tr.: *Defenders of Images* 165-167.

Bibl.: PHOUNTOULIS, *Οἱ ἅγιοι Γεώργιοι* 20-29; *Defenders of Images* 165 n. 119.

80. Georgios, bishop of Mytilene and saint (Γεώργιος)

D 763/4-845/6

B The second of the three brothers of Lesbos, born to Hadrianos and Konstanto; Georgios was tonsured a monk by his younger brother Symeon and ordained a priest by Georgios (no. 79), the iconophile bishop of Mytilene. He would serve his brother as an assistant and witness his excessive ascetical toils as well as helping the needy by placing wooden logs on their doorsteps in wintertime. One night while performing this task, Georgios was attacked by demons at the so-called Great Bridge which probably connected the islet of the *kastron* of Mytilene with the mainland. According to the hagiographer, it was thanks to Georgios' strength that the demon was finally drowned in the depths of the canal and the passage became safe for all. Injured, he visited his sister Hilaria who promptly sent him to Symeon for a cure. His philanthropic activity was manifested once again when a famine afflicted the island: Georgios was assigned to load grain on a donkey; as he was coming back from the mill, he encountered two poor men asking him for some flower. Not only did Georgios fulfill their request but he also gave them the donkey. His conduct was reproached by his abbot until a stranger came up bringing two donkeys loaded down with provisions. Furthermore, some days later, a ship from Smyrne brought a large amount of grain and legumes that were distributed to the poor.

When, owing to the persecution launched by the iconoclast bishop Leon, Symeon was expelled from the island, Georgios was entrusted with the guidance of a small monastery (μονύδριον) and the management of its properties in the theme of Thrakesion and on Lesbos. He felt Leon's persecution when the latter, on the pretext of raising cash, ordered that all iconophile monasteries on the island be sold lock, stock, and barrel. He and his monks were forced to move to a small village called Myrsinas. While there Georgios

performed his first miracles. To begin with, Hesychios, *protonotarios* of the Thrakesioi, sent him a letter containing the confession of his sins and asked him to pray for his forgiveness. Deeming himself unworthy of such an undertaking, the saint kept the letter secured with a lead seal for twenty days and sent it back to Hesychios with the seal intact. Upon opening it, he saw in full amazement that it was completely blank. Apart from that, Georgios cured an unnamed man belonging to the aristocracy who suffered from a terrible disease. As the end of his life was approaching, he asked the holy man to come and visit him. For the first time in his life Georgios rode a donkey which, however, did not stop braying while he was conversing with the sick man. Georgios then commanded his traveling companion to keep silent and, after praying to God, restored his sick friend to health. After the death of Theophilos and his brother's recall from exile by the empress Theodora, Georgios received a letter from Symeon urging him to travel to the capital. Upon sailing near the shore at a place called Psalidion, Georgios saw St Spyridon appearing to him in a dream saying: "I am coming to share your struggle in the synod that is about to be convened in Byzantium." Along with his brother Symeon he was received at the palace in a place called Peribleptos by the empress and the future patriarch Methodios. To these three men Theodora entrusted both her decision to restore the veneration of icons and her request not to condemn by anathema her husband Theophilos. Whereas Symeon and his followers did not consent to the empress' will, Georgios, Methodios, Ioannes Katasambas, and the hermit Ioannikios approved of her purpose. When the crisis was finally resolved and the veneration of icons was restored, Georgios was asked by Methodios and Symeon to be consecrated bishop of Ephesos. However, as the humble Georgios was reluctant to accept this offer, both brothers were summoned to the empress' palace. Bearing witness to Georgios' humility, she compelled him to accept the bishopric of his homeland. The holy man then explained that whereas he rejected Ephesos on account of his lack of education, he would do the same for Mytilene because his homeland was not able to pay its taxes to the state. Theodora then summoned the *logothetes tou genikou* and ordered that Lesbos be exempted from taxation for as long as Georgios would occupy its bishopric. Moreover, for the relief of the poor islanders she gave him a great deal of money and goods from her family's property. Upon such generosity Georgios decided to be consecrated bishop of his homeland at the age of eighty. Yet before departing for Mytilene he had a meeting consecutively with Theodora's brothers Petronas and Bardas who, apart from confessing to him their sins, provided him with money and goods again for distribution to the poor. Along with his brother Symeon, Georgios came to the island on 8 September 843 and was received by a multitude of people. On the 14th of September, at the festival of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, the *strategos* of the island sent heralds to summon the locals first to the church of the Mother of God and on the next day to the church of St Theodora, where Georgios was raised to the rank of bishop. Immediately after his consecration the holy man performed his first episcopal miracle providing every member of his flock with a bunch of grapes. Moreover, three days later, in the presence of his brother and the clergy, he asked that the grapes left in the vineyard be put in the wine vat; and, thanks to his prayers, it was possible from a small amount of grapes to fill the storage jars and every container that each member of the clergy and the flock happened to bring. After a year Georgios had to mourn the death of his brother Symeon who was buried in the monastery of the Theotokos. He continued to perform miracles, one being the cure of a friend living in Gothograikia in Asia Minor. As his fame as a wonderworker spread outside Lesbos, he was invited by the inhabitants of Smyrne, where, apart from preaching the word of Orthodoxy, he put in order the two monasteries he had previously established in the area. While there, an angel appeared to him in a dream announcing his departure from this world. Bidding farewell to the Smyrnaeans, he came back to the land of his birth. On Holy Thursday he celebrated the liturgy, washed the feet of many and revealed his imminent demise. He passed away on Holy Saturday and many miracles occurred on that day. Like his brother Symeon, he was buried in the monastery of the Theotokos where he had lived as a monk. Some years later, the remains of the three brothers were placed in one and the same coffin.

Georgios is perhaps identifiable with "the holy Metropolitan of Mitylene" whom the pilgrim Daniel reports as buried on the island at the beginning of the 12th c.

- S AD5G 220.19-259.5 (§§ 10-37); ed. PHOUNTOULIS pp. 24.25-54.24 (§§ 10-37): "...τῷ ὑπηρετοῦντι ἀδελφῷ κατὰ φύσιν ὄντι τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ Γεωργίῳ (ἦν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκας καὶ τῷ μονοτρόπῳ συναριθμήσας τάγματι, ἐπιθέσει τε τῶν τοῦ ῥηθέντος ἱερωτάτου προέδρου χειρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἀναβιβάσας τιμῇ) ... λιμοῦ δέ ποτε ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενομένου, ὁ μέγας προσετάρχη Γεώργιος σίτον

ἐπιτεθέντα τῷ κτήνι ἐν τῷ μύλῳ ἀπιέναι· ὁ καὶ ἐποίησε τάχιστα, ἕτερον ἐν τῷ σιτοβολεῖῳ μέχρι κοτύλης σίτου οὐκ ἑάσας προσεπικείμενον... καὶ παραχρήμα τὸν γενικῶν καλέσασα λογοθέτην βασιλικῶς ἐπισημανθῆναι γράμμασι διετάξατο μηκέτι τῇ Λέσβῳ δημοσίων ἀπαίτησιν γίνεσθαι μέχρις ἂν ὁ πατὴρ οὗτος Γεώργιος ἀρχιερατεύων ἐν τοῖς ζώσι διατελοῖ· τρισχίλια τε σαγία καὶ τοσοῦτους χιτῶνας χρυσίου τε καὶ πέντε λίτρας ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς λιτρῶν δύο καὶ φόλεις τριῶν ἐκ τῆς καταλειφθείσης αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς χορηγίαν πενήτων οὐσίας αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς χορηγίαν πενήτων οὐσίας αὐτῷ προσαπέδωκε· «τοῖς πτωχοῖς αὐτὰ δὸς τῆς πατρίδος σου, λέγουσα, καὶ ψυχωφελῇ προστασίαν ἀνθρώπων μὴ παραιτήθητι.» ... ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ προσκυνήσεως ἐπέστη ἡμέρα Σταυροῦ, καθ' ἣν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία χερσὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ σεπτοῦ ξύλου ὑψουμένου ἑορτὴν τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τελεῖν διετάξατο πάνδημον, ὁ τῆς νήσου στρατηγὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ θρόνου ἀνάβασιν τε καὶ καθέδραν τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Γεωργίου ποιῆσαι βουλόμενος, διὰ κηρύκων τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς Ὑψώσεως τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄφιξιν ἐπεκήρυξεν· ἔνθεν τοι καὶ ποταμηδὸν οἱ δῆμοι συρρεύσαντες τῷ τε πλήθει τὸν χώρον στενώτατον ἀναδείξαντες, παννύχιον ἐν ᾧ κατήχθη τῆς Θεοτόκου ναῶ σὺν τῷ ποιμένι τὴν ἑορτὴν διετέλεσαν. Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ λαμπάδων, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ ὕμνων ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς μάρτυρος Θεοδώρας σηκὸν λαμπροφοροῦντες, ὁ τε στρατηγὸς καὶ ἡ τάξις σὺν τῷ πλήθει τὸν ἀρχιερέα προπέμφαντες, ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν κανονικῶς τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐγκαθίδρυσαν, ... ὁ δέ γε θαυμάσιος καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου προβάτων ποιμὴν ὁ πιστότατος Γεώργιος τῆς ἀδελφικῆς στερηθεὶς ξυνωρίδος καὶ μόνος ἤδη καταληφθεὶς οὐ διέλιπεν ... θεραπεύων τὸ ποίμνιον ... ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἐσπέρας τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ καὶ μεγάλου καταλαβούσης Σαββάτου πρὸς ὃν ἐπόθει Κύριον ὁ μακάριος ἐξεδήμησε, πολλῶν καὶ ἐξαισίων κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν γεγονότων θαυμάτων. Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ οἱ τοῦ κλήρου οἱ τε ἐν τέλει καὶ οἱ τῆς πολιτείας, ὁ τε στρατός, οὐδὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς τούτων ἀπολειπόμενος, κατὰ τάξεις διαιρεθέντες χερσὶ πρεσβυτέρων τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ θαυμάσιον σῶμα μετακομίσαντες, λαμπάσι τε καὶ ψαλμοῖς καὶ μύροις μεγαλοπρεπῶς αὐτὸ προπεμψάμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ σεβασμίῳ ναῶ τῆς Θεομήτορος, ἔνθα καὶ τὰς ἀσκητικὰς ὁ θαυμαστὸς παλαίστρας διήνυσσε, κηδεύσαντες ἐντίμως κατέθεντο..." (extracts); Engl. tr.: *Defenders of Images* 167-240.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 2161; *PBE*: Georgios 135; *ODB* 589; *EPLBHC* IV 109-110; PHOUNTOLIS, Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν λειψάνων 31-36; ŠEVČENKO, *Hagiography* 117-118; KAZHDAN, *Notes* 185-188; MALAMUT, *Route des saints* 76, 113, 128, 131-132, and 159; EFTHYMIADIS, *Correspondence* 153-154 and n. 54; *Defenders of Images* 143-148; KAZHDAN, *Literature* I 200-202; KARLIN-HAYTER, *Notes* 325-350; EADEM, *Restoration of Orthodoxy* 361-373.

81. Georgios, bishop of Mytilene and saint (Γεώργιος)

D 776-821; bishop between 804 and 815

B A saint; born in Asia Minor to noble parents, he took monastic vows in a cenobitic monastery at the age of 18. After two years he secretly came to Mytilene by boat; for six years he lived as an anchorite in a cave, collecting only wild herbs (μελάγχρια) from the mountain. Upon entering his 28th year and after the death of the former bishop he was unwillingly consecrated bishop of the island (τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου). In his *episkopeion* he did not moderate his asceticism, but continued to fast and pray. After nine years as bishop a certain man involved in tax-collecting (p. 35, 18-19: τὰς τοῦ δημοσίου διέπων ἀρχάς) tried to cause problems for the local church by preventing its administrators from practising their duties and violently arresting those seeking asylum. As a result, Georgios was forced to leave the island for Constantinople, where he was received by the patriarch Nikephoros; the latter admired his character and finally asked him not to return home. Georgios also predicted that a new age of wrath was to afflict the Church. This prediction was made in the second year of the reign of Michael I (813). Not much later, Leon the Armenian waged war against the veneration of icons and its supporters. Reacting to this policy, the patriarch Nikephoros, followed by a number of prelates and abbots (one of whom was Georgios), pleaded with the emperor but to no avail; along with the patriarch, iconophile ecclesiastics were driven into exile. Demonstrating a divine zeal Georgios warned Leon not to imitate his Isaurian namesake and first instructor of the heresy. Leon had Georgios flogged a hundred times and condemned to exile on one of the neighbouring islands (ἐν ταῖς κύκλῳ νήσοις), i.e., those in the sea of Marmara. Upon reaching the island the saint tried to remain unnoticed and in hiding. Yet finally he performed a number of healing miracles. Among his beneficiaries were the demonically possessed Konstantinos, an anonymous deaf and dumb man, and an anonymous blind man. Georgios passed away after having spent six years of torture in

exile. During the patriarchate of Methodios (843-847) the inhabitants of Mytilene transferred his relics to their island and deposited them next to those of the other fathers.

Note that in *ADSG* he is reported to have been exiled to Cherson; also that ten sermons on the Gospels of Matthew and John were attributed to him (see KAZHDAN, Literature II 85).

The 14th-century patriarchal documents record a monastery dedicated to an *hosios* Georgios; see acts no. 79, 80, and 81, in *PRK* I 462, 470-472, 480-484.

- S** *vita* of Georgios of Mytilene, ed. PHOUNTOULIS pp. 34-36: "...Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ πεφωτισμένος πατήρ ἡμῶν Γεώργιος ὁρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσιάτιδος γαίης,... ποιήσας δὲ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ χρόνους δύο ἦλθεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην. Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν νῆσον παρεκάλει τὸν Θεὸν μετὰ δακρύων ὁδηγηθῆναι εἰς τόπον εὐάρεστόν τε καὶ ἥσυχον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωθῆναι ἐπιτήδειον. Καὶ δὴ εὐρὼν σπήλαιον, εἰσελθὼν ἡσύχασεν ἐν αὐτῷ, μὴ συντυγχάνων τινὶ τὸ σύνολον, ἐπὶ χρόνους ἕξ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης συναναστροφῆς ἀφιστῶν ἑαυτὸν... τοῦ μέντοι εἰκοστοῦ ὀγδόου τῆς αὐτοῦ ἡλικίας χρόνου εἰσεληλυθὸς καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπαστραπτούσης χάριτος πανταχόσε διαθεούσης χειροτονεῖται ἐπίσκοπος τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος, τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τελευτήσαντος ... τοῦ τοίνυν θεσπεσίου Γεωργίου ἐννέα χρόνους ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ διανύσαντος, ἀνὴρ τις τὰς τοῦ δημοσίου διέπων ἀρχάς, ἐξ ἐνεργείας σατανικῆς, ἐπεχείρει ζημιοῦν καὶ ταρασσεῖν τὴν τούτῳ ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν ἐκκλησίαν... ἐντεῦθεν οὖν θλίψει δεινοτάτῃ περιπεσὼν ὁ δίκαιος ἀναγκάζεται ἐπὶ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀπελθεῖν..." (extracts).

Related source: *ADSG* 227.8-9 (§ 15) and 229.12-13 (§ 16); ed. PHOUNTOULIS pp. 29.46-30.2 (§ 15) and 31.32-33 (§ 16); Engl. tr.: Defenders of Images 179 and n. 188, 183 and n. 209.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 2160; *PBE*: Georgios 134; FEDALTO, Hierarchia 215; PHOUNTOULIS, Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν λειψάνων 26-31; J.-M. SAUGET in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* v. 6 cols 538-540 (s.v. Giorgio di Mitilene); HALKIN, Y a-t-il trois saints Georges 464-469; MICHAILIDIS, Trois notules 145-147; MALAMUT, Route des saints 127-128, 131-132, 159; KAZHDAN, Literature I 200-201.

82. Georgios metropolitan of Methymna (Γεώργιος)

D 30 Oct. 1143

B Participant in the synod that condemned and deposed the bishops (and monks) Klemes of Sosandra and Leontios of Balbissa, accused of Bogomilism. He signed as "ὁ εὐτελὴς μητροπολίτης Μεθύμνης Γεώργιος." The synod was held in the *katechoumeneia* of St Alexios and was summoned by the patriarch Michael II Kourkouas Oxeites (1143-1146). He is likely to have been identical to Georgios Xilopoulos, bishop of Methymna.

S Allatius, *De ecclesiae occidentalis*, col 686: "ὁ εὐτελὴς μητροπολίτης Μεθύμνης Γεώργιος ὀρίσας ὑπέγραφα."

Bibl.: FEDALTO, Hierarchia 214; MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης 200; GRUMEL, Regestes III 1014; WIRTH, Kosmas II. Attikos 331-343.

83. Georgios of Mytilene (Γεώργιος)

D Uncertain.

B Author of an Oration on Christ's Cross (*BHG* 438n). He has been considered identical with St Georgios, bishop of Mytilene I.

S Georgios of Mytilene, *Logos* (Λόγος Γεωργίου Μιτυλήνης εἰς τὰ ἅγια πάθη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).

84. Georgios, skribon and kommerkiarios (Γεώργιος)

D 690-691

B Owner of a seal upon which he is designated as *skribon* and general *kommerkiarios* of the Apotheke (warehouse) of Asia, Chios, and Lesbos. The seal is dateable to the fourth indiction under an emperor who can be identified with Justinian II (685-695, 705-711).

A Georgios *skribon* was the owner of two seals dating from the same period: see BARNEA, Sceaux de Dobroudja, 98-99; and Busso Peus Nachf. Münzhandlung: Auktion 376. *Antike und Islam*, 29-30 Oktober 2003, no. 1290 (cf. www.bussopeus.de). Note also that seal no. 1291, displayed in the same auction and belonging to Georgios *apo hypaton*, bears the same monogram.

A *skribon* was an officer of the imperial guard who was often assigned several duties in the provinces. The debate as to the precise function of the *kommerkiarios* is still open.

- S** ZACOS and VEGLERY no. 168 (= *CBSDO* 51.3): Obv.: the emperor Justinian II standing. Rev.: “Γεωργίω σκριβων[ι] (καὶ) γεν[ι]κοῦ κ[ομμ]ερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Ἀσίας, Χίου (καὶ) Λέσβου.”

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 1993; *PBE*: Georgios 236; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, Τὰ σφραγιστικά κατάλοιπα 19-20; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Silk Trade 33-53 (esp. 40); BRANDES, Städte Kleinasiens 165-166 (on the kommerkiarioi see 160-174); HALDON, Byzantine Praetorians, 163 and n. 312; IDEM, Byzantium in the Seventh Century 224-242; HENDY, Byzantine Monetary Economy 624-645 and 656-662; DUNN, The kommerkiarios 3-24; KODER, Aigaion 143, 210; BRANDES, Finanzverwaltung 529; IDEM, Georgios ΑΠΟ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ 37.

85. Georgios Xilopoulos, bishop of Methymna (Γεώργιος Ξιλόπουλος)

D Ca. mid-12th c.

- B** Owner of an unpublished seal in the Zacos collection. He is likely to have been identical with Georgios metropolitan of Methymna no. 82.

The Xy(i)lopouloi were not a particularly distinguished family. Another Xylopoulos was the owner of a seal now in the Fogg collection (no. 1328). No Xylopoulos appears in the *PLP*.

- S** SPINK, Auction 135 no. 246 (p. 49): Obv.: the Virgin Mary standing facing, holding the infant Christ in Her arms; Rev.: “προέδρου Μηθύμνης Γεωργίου τοῦ Ξιλοπούλου πατρώθεν κεκλημένου.”

86. Gregorios, metropolitan of Mytilene (Γρηγόριος)

D 680/1

- B** He participated in the 6th Ecumenical Council that condemned Monotheletism. He pronounced a confession in favor of Dyothelitism after the Testimonia presented by the delegates of the pope Agathon were read out.

- S** *ACO* II/2/1-2 200.6-11; other mentions 16.31; 28.35; 38.11; 48.34; 164.4; 174.1; 84.3; 192.29; 264.28; 280.32; 404.14; 518.5; 572.21; 632.14; 668.18; 686.23; 708.3; 736.12; 756.29; 784.26; 825.2; 893.26: “Γρηγόριος ἔλεψ̄ Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος Μιτυληναίων πόλεως τῶν Λεσβίων νήσου.”

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 2352; *PBE*: Gregorios 14; FEDALTO, Hierarchia 215 (mistakenly cited as Georgios); MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 186; RIEDINGER, Subskriptionslisten 24 (no. 47).

87. Gregorios of Assos, saint (Γρηγόριος Ἀσσοῦ)

D 12th c. (or 11th c.?)

- B** A saint; born to wealthy parents in Akorne of Gera, he was named Georgios after his father Georgios Anastasopoulos. In early childhood (ἐκ πρώτης ... τῆς ἐφήβου ἡλικίας) he was entrusted to an instructor (παιδευτῇ γραμμάτων) to be taught the divine and holy letters. At the age of fourteen, because of an imperial decree that the best children of the island should be taken to the imperial palace for a three-year period as a pledge, Georgios was taken from home to the court of Manuel I Porphyrogenetos. During his three years in Constantinople he did not indulge in games and pleasures as did others of the same age, but was dedicated to the encyclical education (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία) having as his teacher the great Agathon (p. 8–9). While her son lived in the palace and was fed by the imperial provisions (ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσιῶν), his mother Maria would nourish the poor in Lesbos with the amount of food she would have otherwise spent for the weekly feeding of Georgios (p. 9). When his sojourn in the palace came to an end, Georgios, instead of returning home, preferred to join the monastic life. Departing from the capital he followed Agathon to the east. After another three years of obedience to his spiritual master, he set up a solitary cell on Mt Kolysma, fasting and praying. With Agathon’s consent, Georgios left his cell to go on

pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the river Jordan. There he was tonsured a monk and given the name of Gregorios by an ascetic who had become his spiritual teacher. Having remained there for fifteen years (ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα), he returned to his cell and placed himself again under the guidance of Agathon. At that time the see of the bishopric of Assos, a town in the NW coast of Asia Minor, was vacant. Agathon designated Gregorios, who was consecrated bishop in Constantinople by the metropolitan of Ephesos. In that capacity he took up the spiritual training of a virtuous young man, Leon the son of a protopresbyter. However, the growing envy of the locals ended in accusations against Gregorios for maintaining illegal relations with his disciple (συμφθείρεσθαι). Once the case was judged in Constantinople and the two men were acquitted, the accusers asked for and obtained Gregorios' pardon. Yet, after a while, they reiterated the same accusations and forced Gregorios and Leon to flee Assos during the night. They ferried over to the Leukai islets (modern Leukonesia or Tokmakia) where a populous monastery was situated. In that place Leon received the tonsure and was renamed Leontios. Gregorios passed then to Lesbos and Mt Korax where he dwelt in a cell for four years. They both earned their livelihood by the handiwork of Leontios. However, a throng of people from the adjacent villages that came to meet Gregorios in person and follow his example made him leave Mt Korax for Mt Libanon where he sojourned for four years. Having once again failed to pass unnoticed from the neighboring villagers, the saint moved to Mt Parasigion to live for another four years. Moving then to Mt Prias (ἐπὶ τοῦ Πρίαντος ὄρους) and passing from Akorne, he came upon his mother who was going to a bath but he did not reveal his identity. Soon afterwards, however, his mother recognized him. Gregorios again led the life of a solitary at a certain distance from the village Leukopedin. Asking local farmers about the place best to build a monastery he was told in writing (ἐγγράφως) about a terrain inhabited by demons. Having purged it of demons Gregorios was persecuted by the locals, some of whom were driven by heresy (ὕψ' αἰρέσεως καὶ κακοδοξίας κεκρατημένοι, 21). Finally, thanks to the technical assistance of Eirene Kalamotine, he was able to build and found a monastery in the place where his staff, made of walnut tree, miraculously grew up as a tree after it was rooted into the ground. Given that the particular place lacked water, an angel came to him announcing, apart from his imminent demise, that his tomb would become a fountain of water. After communicating this to Leontios, he exhorted him to keep faith in Orthodoxy and overcome temptations. Gregorios passed away after taking holy communion and having embraced his disciples one by one. His body was laid to rest by Leontios and his companions in the spot shown by the angel. Three days later, a stream of water gushed over the tomb. People thronged to benefit from the miraculous spring. Among them was the saint's mother; unable to come through the crowd, she finally came close to the tomb where she recognized her son from a mark on his chest. Gregorios' coffin was transferred to the monastery's church, thereafter performing many healing miracles. As for the blessed water, if received in faith, it could heal diseases and exterminate caterpillars.

A rather different version of Gregorios' biography is found in the *Synaxarion* notice by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (*BHG* 710c, after *Patmiacus* gr. 448, f. 8-13). To begin with, his lifetime is placed in the reign of Konstantinos IX Monomachos (1042-1055); moreover, the person of Agathon, the saint's spiritual teacher, is totally missing whereas his disciple Leon-Leontios is not named; Gregorios' consecration as bishop of Assos occurred not in Constantinople but in Ephesos by the local metropolitan; and he was compelled to flee his bishopric after being accused of maintaining a relationship with a woman. Together with his unnamed disciple, he headed to Mt Ganos where he stayed for three years. Then he came to Lesbos where, after four years of absence, he visited his paternal home. He found his father dead and did not reveal his identity to his mother. Not knowing whom she was talking to, the latter turned down Gregorios' request to be given a place to dwell for the rest of his life. Before leaving, he said to her mother's maidservant not to ignore the poor, among whom her son may be reckoned. The woman then realized that the person she was talking to was Georgios, the lost son of her mistress, who, once she realized the truth, ordered her servants to search for her son all over the island. Yet their efforts had no success. Hiding on the mountain and fighting against the demons Gregorios returned to the world only after his mother's death. Before going back to the mountain he gave away his family's property to the poor. After many toils and despite the hostility of the neighboring peasants Gregorios and his disciple managed to build a church dedicated to the Theotokos in the vicinity of Leukopaidion (as Xanthopoulos spells it). Just before his demise he counseled his disciple to open the lid of his tomb three days after his burial and see the miraculous flow of water; also to implant the staff he had been carrying with him for

eighteen years and see it sprouting as a walnut tree. The Xanthopoulos version ends by referring to some of the saint's posthumous miracles, performed by the application either of the miraculous spring water or the branches of the walnut tree.

A monastery of Hosios Gregorios, situated in the area of Ger(r)a, is recorded in two 13th-c. patriarchal documents; see acts nos 83 and 84, in *PRK* I 490, 492 and 494 (= *MM* I 122-125). In 1935 a Byzantine church discovered to the south of the gulf of Gera was attributed to the saint's monastery and the remains of a body found in narthex were identified as those of Gregorios himself, based on the evidence of his biography. The remains were conveyed to nearby Skopelos where they are still revered, but there are textual reasons to doubt that the site was linked to the saint.

- S** a) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Patmos), ed. HALKIN pp. 6-29; ed. SOPHIANOS pp. 319-346, and *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Megiste Lavra), ed. *ibid.* 307-318: “Οὗτος εὐγενὴς ἦν καὶ τῆς ἁνῶ Σιών συμπολίτης καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν γέννησιν καὶ ἀνατροφὴν ἐκ τῆς νήσου Μιτυλήνης ἔσχεν· ἥτις περικλείεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ Ἀνατολὰς γειτονούσης θαλάσσης τῇ πρὸς Ἀτραμύτιον Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Πέργαμον καὶ Φώκαιαν ... ἐξ ἐνορίας δὲ τῆς Γέρας ἦν τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης “χώρα τῆς Ἀκόρνης”, γονέων δὲ πανευσεβῶν καὶ φιλαρέτων· ... Γεώργιον τὸν παῖδα ἐπώνυμον τῷ πατρί, κατωνόμασαν, ... τῷ γοῦν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ θεσμὸς ἐκράτει βασιλικὸς παῖδας ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν κρειττόνων τῆς νήσου καὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις ὡς ἐνέχυρον ἔχειν μέχρι καὶ ὅλης <τριετίας>, εἶτα κάκεινους ἐπανα<λύειν> εἰς τὰ οἰκεία. ... Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοιοῦτοις καλλίστοις ἔργοις καὶ θεαρέστοις εὐθηνούμενοι ὃ τε παῖς Γεώργιος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρία ἐν τῇ κατὰ Λέσβον οἰκίᾳ. Τῷ Λέοντι καὶ μαθητῇ ἐπιτάξας ἁωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν τὸ μανδύον αὐτοῦ μόνον ἄραι καὶ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ, τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐξῆλθε καὶ εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβὰς καὶ ἐν τῇ τῷ<v> Λεύκω<v> διαπεράσας πλησίον τῆς Λέσβου, ἐν ᾗ μονὴ ἱδρυτο καλλίστη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἐν ταύτῃ ἡσύχασε. Καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν Λεόντιον ἀποκείρας μοναχὸν καὶ εἰς Λέσβον διαπεράσας, ἐπὶ <τὸ> τοῦ Λιβάνου μεταβαίνει ὄρος, κάκειθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Παρασίγειον διαβαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πρίαντος ὄρος ἔρχεται, εἶτα εἰς Ἀκόρναν. Κάκειθεν, θελήσας τοὺς ἰδίους ιδέσθαι, εἰς τὴν πατρικὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκνεύσας ἐστίαν καὶ τὴν μητέρα κατὰ συγκυρίαν εὐρὼν εἰς λουτρὸν ἀπερχομένη<v> καὶ εὐλογίαν ζητοῦσαν, “Ὁ Θεός,” ἔφησεν, “εὐλογήσει σε καὶ ἀξιώσει ιδεῖν σε εἴ που καὶ τινα ἐν ξένοις κέκτησαι.” Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁδοῦ εἶχετο. Εἰς δὲ <τὸ> τοῦ Πρίαντος ἀνελθὼν ὄρος ἡσύχασε. Κάκεῖ εὐρὼν τόπον δύσβατον καὶ ἀλσώδη καὶ ἄγριον, τὸ λεγόμενον Μικρὸν Λευκοπέδιον, καὶ πλήθος δαιμόνων ὑπάρχον ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντων τῷ ἁγίῳ, θεόθεν κινηθεὶς, πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους παρεγένετο Λευκοπεδίτας. Καὶ τὸν τόπον αἰτησάμενος παρ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ καθαρίσαι καὶ μονὴν συστήσαι, ἄσμενοι οἱ ἐγχώριοι τὸν λόγον δεξάμενοι, ἐγγράφως πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον τὸν τόπον ἐξέδοντο ὡς ἀχρησίμευτον παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐχθρῶν οἰκητήριον... Καὶ τὴν καρ<u>τὴν βακτηρίαν, ἐφ’ ἣν ἐπεστήρικτο χρόνους δώδεκα, μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ Λεοντίου εἰς τὸν κῆπον εἰσίων καὶ πῆξας αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν γῆν, χαριεντιζόμενος ἔφη· «Ἀδελφε Λεόντιε, Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει χαρίσασθαι ἡμῖν βασιλείαν τὴν οὐράνιον. Καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος αὐτὴ βλαστήσει καὶ εἰς δε<v>δρου τάξιν γενήσεται καὶ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν καρποφορήσει ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δέ<v>δρων». Σεπτέ<μ>βριος ἦν ὁ μὴν καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος νεκρὰ δι’ ὅλου τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπῆρχε. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρτιος κατέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὴ ἠϋξήθη καὶ καρπὸν δέδωκε καὶ θεραπεύει νόσους καὶ μαλακίας καὶ ἔπαινον Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. ... Γνωρίσας δὲ ὁ ἅγιος παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκδημίαν ... προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν μαθητὴν ἔδειξε πᾶσαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν· καὶ λόγους ἱκανοὺς καὶ ψυχωφελεῖς καὶ εἰρήνην ἐπειπὼν, τῶν ἀχράντων τε μυστηρίων μεταλαβὼν τε καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ καί, «εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθημι, ὁ Θεός, τὸ πνεῦμά μου» ἐκφωνήσας, τοῖς ἀπάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἀγγέλοις οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐναπέψυξε. Περιχυθέντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα ὃ τε μαθητὴς Λεόντιος καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ, ... εἰς τὸν ὠρισμένον παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τόπον κατέθεντο...” (extracts).
- b) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (*Synaxarion*), ed. HALKIN pp. 30-31; ed. SOPHIANOS pp. 347-351: “... ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως τοῦ Μονομάχου· ὥρμητο δὲ ἐκ χώρας οὕτως λεγομένης Γέρας· ἔνδον δὲ αὕτη τῆς νήσου Λέσβου...”

Bibl.: SOPHIANOS, Ὁ Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀσσοῦ 293-304 (previous bibliography cited at 293 n. 1); also IDEM, Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος 641-651; and PHOINTOULIS, Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν λειψάνων 39-45; *Bibliotheca sanctorum orientalium* v. 2 cols 79-80; MAGDALINO, Byzantine Holy Man 53-54; KALDELLIS, Notes 68 and 71 (discussion of *Leukai islets* and *Priantos oros*); see also the papers in Hagios Gregorios.

88. Hadrianos (Ἀδριανός)

D Ca. 699/700-771/772

B Father of the three sanctified brothers David, Symeon, and Georgios, and of four other children; he and his wife Konstanto are both presented as “not undistinguished in their family heritage” (οὐκ ἄσημοι) and as leading a self-sufficient way of life (αὐτάρκης). Apart from that, he is simply referred to as having died at the age of 72 (δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα βεβιωκώς ἔτη).

S *ADSG* 213.2-17 (§ 2) and 217.26-27 (§ 8); ed. PHOINTOULIS pp. 18.24-40 (§ 2) and 22.11-15 (§ 8): “...οἱ δέ γε τῶν θεσπεσίων κατὰ φύσιν ἀνδρῶν τῆς γεννήσεως αἴτιοι, ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ Ἀδριανός, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ Κωνσταντῶ τὴν κλῆσιν ἔλαχον· γένους μὲν οὐκ ἄσημοι ... ἀρετὴν δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐπίσημοι, κἂν τῶν παίδων τὰ δεύτερα φέρωσι ... ὁ γὰρ ἀξιέπαινος αὐτοῦ πατήρ ὁ Ἀδριανὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ μακαρίαν ζωὴν ἐξεδήμησε, δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα βεβιωκώς ἔτη...”; Engl. tr.: *Defenders of Images* 152 and 160.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 90; *PBE*: Hadrianos 7; ŠEVČENKO, Hagiography 117-118.

89. Hilaria (Ἰλαρία)

D 763/4-unknown

B Twin sister of Georgios (no. 80), one of the three saintly brothers of Lesbos. She lived as a recluse (ἐγκεκλεισμένη) in a very small cell at the shrine of St John the Evangelist at Ephesos. She was tonsured a nun by her brother Symeon and was served by Georgios. When Georgios visited her, injured in his nose after he fought with the demon lurking under the Great Bridge of Mytilene, she quickly sent him to Symeon in order to be healed.

Only a passing mention of her appears in *ADSG*, but a local tradition has it that she was also sanctified.

S *ADSG* 212.1-3 (§ 2) and 223.15-27 (§ 12); ed. PHOINTOULIS pp. 18.20-23 (§ 2) and 26.35-47 (§ 12): “...τὴν δὲ ἄλλην σὺν τοῖς ῥηθείσι τρισὶ φωστήρσι θυσίαν καθαρὰν τῷ θεῷ προσαγνόχασι, τὸν μονήρη καὶ αὐτὴν βίον ἀσπασαμένην...” and “...πάλιν δ’ ὁ μακάριος ἐν ᾧ τὸν σκοπὸν εἶχεν τὸν φόρτον ἄρας ἀπέθετο καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν πορευθεὶς Ἰλαρίαν· (ἦν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν σμικροτάτῳ οἰκίσκῳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεολόγου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου σηκὸν ἐγκεκλεισμένη διὰ τὸν Κύριον, παρθένος ἀγνή, τούτῳ δὲ διδύμῳ συνεξεληθούσα γεννήσει, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου Συμεὼν μὲν ἀποκαρεῖσα, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ μάκαρος διακονουμένη Γεωργίου. Ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ ὁμογνίου ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμονιώδους ῥαπίσματος ῥίνα διαστραφεῖσαν, λίαν ἠθύμησε· τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν μαθοῦσα, θᾶπτον πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Συμεώνην ἐξέπεμψεν. Ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν χαριέντως· ποῦ ἦς, ἔφη, ἔως τοῦ νῦν, μονομάχε; Τίς σου ἡ ὄψις; Πλησίασόν μοι» Καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιήσας, ἀποκατέστησεν ὑγιή ...”; Engl. tr.: *Defenders of Images* 152, 172-173.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 2580; *PBE*: Hilaria 1.

90. Himerios, logothetes and admiral (Ἱμέριος, also Ἡμέριος)

D Oct. 911-April or May 912

B *Patrikios* and *logothetes* of the Dromos, also called ‘Choiros’ on account of his face (Theophanes Continuatus, ed. BEKKER p. 172). He was a relative of the empress Zoe Karbonopsina (*Life of the patriarch Euthymios*, ed. KARLIN-HAYTER p. 109.25-26). In the first years of the 10th c., during the reign of Leon VI, he commanded the Byzantine fleet against the Arab navy in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. After defeating the Syrian fleet in October 905 and carrying out a military operation on Cyprus, he destroyed Laodikeia in 910. In the summer of 911 he proceeded with a large flotilla in order to recapture Crete from the Arabs, but eight months of hostilities were not enough to bring any success. Upon sailing back to Constantinople he was defeated in a naval battle off the island of Chios or Samos. All of his ships being dispersed, he took refuge in Mytilene. This detail is missing in Theophanes Continuatus (see ed. BEKKER pp. 376.23-377.4) and is only transmitted in the *Synopsis Historiarum* of Ioannes Skylitzes. On returning to the capital Himerios was exiled by the emperor Alexandros (912-913)

to a monastery where he died of distress (ὕπὸ τῆς θλίψεως κατεργασθείς) (Kedrenos, *Historiarum Compendium*, ed. I. BEKKER, v. 2, 277).

His name is also attested in Konstantinos VII, *The Book of Ceremonies* 2.44, ed. REISKE p. 651, and in the *Lives* of St Theoktiste of Lesbos by (a) Niketas Magistros, p. 225 (§ 2) and (b) Symeon Metaphrastes, p. 19 (§ 2); Engl. tr.: *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 103.

- S** Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. THURN p. 191: “Ἀγαρηνῶν δὲ ἐξελθόντων μετὰ πλοίων τριακοσίων, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Δαμιανός τε ὁ τῆς Τύρου ἀμνηρᾶς καὶ Λέων ὁ Τριπολίτης, Ἰμέριος ὁ λογοθέτης ναύαρχος ὧν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸν Ὀκτώβριον μῆνα συνήντησε τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Σάμον, ἧς ἐστρατήγει Ῥωμανός ὁ Λακαπηνός. Καὶ συμπλακεῖς τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἡττήθη, καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν νεῶν διασκεδασθεισῶν μόλις αὐτὸς διεσώθη εἰς Μιτυλήνην.”; French tr.: Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs* 162.

Bibl.: ODB 933; GRUMEL, Andronic Dux 202-207; JENKINS, Date of Leo VI 277-281; IDEM, Chronological Accuracy 105; MILLER, Logothete of the Drome 438-470; KARLIN-HAYTER, Commentary 220-222; VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes 43 (Masudi); ZAKYTHENOS, Βυζαντινὴ αὐτοκρατορία 207-208; KAZHDAN, Notes, 181; TSOUGARAKIS, Byzantine Crete 50-55; CHRISTIDIS, Raids 76-111; TOUGHER, Leo VI 191-193 (opting for a date in Oct. 911 for the final battle); GUILLAND, Logothètes 5-115.

91. Iakovos metropolitan of Methymna (Jacobus)

D 867

B A participant in the Ignatian synod of 867, in the proceedings of which (extant only in Latin) he is referred to as archbishop of Methymna.

S MANSI XVI 191: “Jacobus misericordia Dei archiepiscopus Methymnae omnia quae in sancta et universali synodo judicata sunt et definita libenter suscipiens subscripti manu propria.”

Bibl.: FEDALTO, Hierarchia 214 (wrongly cites MANSI XVI 991); KARYDONES, Σταυροπηγικά 229.

92. Ignatios patriarch of Constantinople and saint (Ἰγνάτιος)

D August 859

B Born in Constantinople in ca. 797/798, he was the son of the emperor Michael I Rangabe and Prokopia; his baptismal name was Niketas. Following his father’s deposition, he and his brothers were castrated and forced to take monastic vows on an island of Propontis. When Photios was enthroned in the patriarchate of Constantinople at Christmas 858, Ignatios was exiled to Terebinthos in Propontis; yet, after two months, he was again arrested and carried to Hieria on the Asian coast of Bosphoros, where he was confined to a monastery. Then he was transferred to a place called *ta Prometou* where, according to his biographer, he suffered severe tortures by Leon *domestikos* of Noumera, who was also called Lalakon, and then he was imprisoned in the Noumera proper in Constantinople. In August 859 he was put on a ship and exiled to Mytilene. In his absence, Photios summoned a council in the church of the Holy Apostles and decreed both the deposition and anathematization of Ignatios. Moreover, his sympathizers would risk being driven into jail. After spending six months on Mytilene, Ignatios was taken back to Terebinthos, “not to find some rest and consolation, but for more sorrow and ill-treatment”, as his *vita* puts it.

S a) David Niketas the Paphlagonian, *Life of Ignatios*, in: *PG* 105 cols 487-574, here col 513C-D, 516C: “...εἶτα Αὐγουστος ἐνίστατο μὴν καὶ εἰς πλοῖον αὐτὸν ἐμβαλόντες, εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἐξορίζουσι ... ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ δὲ διατρίβοντος ὁ Φώτιος τὴν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν πονηρευομένων συναγαγὼν... ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ ἐπάνεισι τῆς μὲν ἐξορίας ὁ ἀθλητής, ἐξ μῆνας ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ πεπονηκώς· ἐπάνεισι δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν κρατούντων προνοίας πρὸς τὴν Τερέβινθον...” (extracts).

b) *Acts of the Ignatian Synod* (867 A.D.), in MANSI XVI col 416D: “εἶτα ἐξενεχθέντες ἐξωρίσθησαν ὁ μὲν πατριάρχης εἰς Μιτυλήνην, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄλλοι καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ.”

c) Theophanes Continuatus, ed. BEKKER pp. 193.1-196.5: “...τότε δὴ ὑπερόριον μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Μιτυλήνην ποιεῖ...” (extracts).

d) Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. THURN pp. 106.31-32-107.42-43: “... ὃν μετὰ πολλὴν ὄσσην τὴν κάκωσιν ὑπερόριον ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ ποιεῖ” and “... καθαιρέσει καθυποβάλλουσι τὸν Ἰγνάτιον, τῆς ἐξορίας μεταπεμψάμενοι...” (extracts); French tr.: Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs* 93.

- e) Zonaras, *Epitome Historion* 16.4.32-33, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST pp. 403.10-12: "...ὁ δὲ (sc. Καῖσαρ Βάρδας) διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεθίστησι τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ πολλὰ κακώσας τέλος ἐγκλείει τάφῳ. Εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐξενεγκὼν εἰς Μιτυλήνην τὴν νῆσον ὑπερορίζει..."

Related source: Michael Synkellos, Laudation of the patriarch Ignatios (fragment: *BHG* 818), in: MANSI XVI 292-294, here 293A.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 2666; *PBE*: Ignatios 1; *ODB* 983-984; DVORNIK, Photian Schism 43-56 and 61-63.

93. Ioannes, deacon of Methymna (Ἰωάννης)

D Between 1143 and 1180

B Deacon of the Church of Methymna and scribe. His name and rank appear in a partially damaged colophon on f. 216^v of codex *Vindobonensis theologicus* gr. 162, a parchment preserving works of pseudo-Dionysios. According to this note, the manuscript was completed on Friday, 17 January, in the 11th indiction and during the reign of "Manuel, emperor of Romans." The three last lines once recorded the name of the book's owner, but most of the text has been erased. Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425) is excluded on palaeographical grounds, so the emperor in question must be Manuel I Komnenos. However, in no year of that emperor's reign that fell on the 11th indiction (1148, 1163, and 1178) did 17 January fall on a Friday. A solution to this problem was offered by H. D. Kakoulides, who pointed to the emperor of Trebizond Manuel I Megas Komnenos (1238-1263) and to the year 1253, when 17 January fell on a Friday. But this reconstruction was rejected by O. Kresten because the note omits the title of Megas Komnenos and because of the inherent unlikelihood of a close connection between a scribe of Methymna and the court of Trebizond (rather than, say, Nikaia). Besides, palaeographical criteria point to a date not in the mid-13th century but to one in the late 12th. Also, a close study of the manuscript's colophon and an interpretation of its "lacunae" suggests that this was not an autograph by the deacon Ioannes but a copy full of errors (whence the problem with the indiction). *Vindobonensis theologicus* gr. 162 was, therefore, only an apograph of an older manuscript dating from the years of Manuel I Komnenos.

S KRESTEN, Datierung 313: "ἐτελειώθη σὺν θ(ε)ῶ ἡ ἱερὰ καὶ ψυχωφελὴς καὶ θεολογικωτάτη βίβλος τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρὸς ἡμῶν διονυσίου· μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ ιζ' ἡμέρ(α) π(αρα)σκευῇ· ἔτ(ους) ... (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ια· γραφεῖσα ... διὰ χειρὸς ἰω(άννου) ἐλαχίστου καὶ ἀναξίου διακό(νου) τοῦ τοῦ μηθύμνης· ἐπὶ μανουὴλ βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτ(ο)ρ(ος) ῥωμαίων· ἔστι δὲ αὕτη ἡ βίβλος τοῦ παν..... καὶ πανευγενεστάτ(ου) κύρ (?)"

Bibl.: MONTFAUCON, *Paleographia graeca* 61; VOGEL and GARDTHAUSEN, *Schreiber* 179; BICK, *Die Schreiber* 123; KAKOULIDES, *Tò bibliograpfikò σημεῖωμα*; KRESTEN, *Datierung*; HUNGER and KRESTEN, *Katalog* 248-251 (citing further bibliography).

94. Ioannes ... (?), kourator of Mytilene (Ἰωάννης)

D 11th c.

B *Krites* and *kourator* of Mytilene. His offices and last name are inscribed on a seal found in a stronghold near the village of Melnitsa in Bulgaria. The seal belongs to a private collection and was published twice. The relatively poor condition of the seal, especially at the end of the inscription on the reverse, makes the reading of the last name difficult. In its first publication Jordanov proposed Tzykandeles, whereas in the most recent one he preferred to leave it void. In a personal communication, J.-C. Cheynet proposed either Kamateros or Kladon; both family names are attested in the 11th c. occupying offices of the civil rather than the military administration. ŠANDROVSKAJA and SEIBT, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel* 103, suggested the name Kamitzos.

S JORDANOV, *Corpus* no. 49.1 (p. 126); first published by IDEM, *Seals-Melnitsa*, no. 32 (p. 41): Obv.: bust of the Theotokos holding a medallion of Christ. Rev.: "[+] Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἰωάννη κριτῇ καὶ μεγάλῳ κουράτωρι Μιτυλήνης ...] τ(ῷ) Κληδ ... "

Bibl.: on *kouratores* see *ODB* 1155-1156; KAPLAN, *Maisons impériales* 355-358; IDEM, *Les hommes et la terre* 313-319; CHEYNET, *Épiskeptitai* 91-92.

95. Ioannes metropolitan of Mytilene, the first of the Manuelitai (Ἰωάννης)

D First half of the 12th c.

B Owner of a seal, now preserved in an Austrian collection. On the obverse is inscribed the bust of St Nikolaos in episcopal garment. The reverse bears a metrical inscription in twelve-syllable verse. Manuelites is known both as a family name and as a surname associated with the monastery of Manuel in Constantinople, founded in ca. 830 by a *magistros* by that name. The editor of the seal suggests that the name reveals an attachment to the monastery in question. In other words, Ioannes must have been both metropolitan of Mytilene and abbot of the monastery of Manuel.

For two other seals belonging to the monks Theodosios and Michael Manuelites and dating from the end of the 11th and 12th c. see STAVRAKOS, *Bleisiegel* nos 158-159 (p. 251-253). Other examples in WASSILIOU, *Metrische Legenden* 150-151; a Nikolaos Manuelites, who was *prokathemenos* of the town of Nikaia, around 1265, appears in Pachymeres, *History* 3.38, ed. FAILLER v. 1 321.

S WASSILIOU, *Metrische Legenden* no. 1.3.12 (p. 149-151): Obv.: bust of St Nikolaos. Rev.: “[Σ]κέπ(οις) [μ]ε, π(ά)τερ, τὸν [θ]ύτην Μιτυ[λή]νης Ἰω(άν)νην (πρῶτον) σ:… [ον Μανουηλιτῶ(ν).” Restored reading: Σκέποις με, πάτερ, τὸν θύτην Μιτυλήνης // Ἰωάννην πρῶτον σὼν Μανουηλιτῶν.

Bibl.: JANIN, *Géographie* 320-322 (on the monastery of Manuel in Constantinople).

96. Ioannes orphanotrophos (Ἰωάννης ὀρφανοτρόφος)

D 12/6/1042-1043

B Monk, eunuch, and elder brother of the emperor Michael IV (1034-1041). He held the post of *orphanotrophos* during Romanos III's reign (1028-1034). Taking advantage of his brother's weak character, he ruled behind the throne; after his nephew Michael V Kalaphates came to power, he was exiled to Mytilene where he suffered blinding and died. He was first confined to the monastery of Monobata whose location is unknown.

Zonaras reports that exile and blinding were decided by the Augusta Theodora without Konstantinos IX Monomachos' knowledge or the latter took personal revenge for his own years of exile on Lesbos.

S a) Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. THURN p. 423.54-55: “... μετεβίβασεν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ὀρφανοτρόφον μετὰ πάντων, ὧν εἶχεν, ἀπὸ τῆς μονῆς τῶν Μονοβάτων ἐς τὴν νῆσον Λέσβον ...”; French tr.: Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs* 352.

b) Zonaras, *Epitome Historion* 17.22.24, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST pp. 624.14-625.2: “ὁ γε μὴν ἐκτομίας Ἰωάννης, ὁ γεγὼς ὀρφανοτρόφος, ὁ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παφλαγόνος αὐτάδελφος, εἰς Μιτυλήνην κρατήσαντος μεταχθεὶς ἐκεῖ πηροῦται τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ὡς μὲν τισι δοκεῖ, παρὰ τῆς βασιλίδος Θεοδώρας γνώμης ἄτερ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὡς δ' ἐνίοις, αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τοῦτο κελεύσαντος, μηνίωντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπερορίας πολυετὲς καὶ ἀναίτιον. Ὅς βραχείας ἡμέρας τῇ πηρώσει ἐπιβίωσας τὴν ζωὴν ἐξεμέτρησεν ...”; German tr.: Zonaras, *Chronik* 95.

Bibl.: JANIN, *Géographie* 173; IDEM, *Un ministre byzantin: Jean Orphanotrophos*. *EO* 30 (1931) 431-443; ANGOLD, *Empire* 34. On the office of the *orphanotrophos*, see NESBITT, *Orphanotrophos* 51-62 (on Ioannes see esp. 59-60).

97. Ioannes ostiarios, hebdomarios and anagrapheus (Ἰωάννης)

D Mid-11th c.

B Owner of a seal; from the office of *ostiarios* (as well as that of *hebdomarios*) it can be inferred that Ioannes was a eunuch. According to the editors of this seal, a physician saint is represented on the obverse, either St Panteleimon/Pantaleon or the Apostle Philippos.

S SEIBT and ZARNITZ, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel*, 2.2.7 (p. 86-87): Obv.: bust of a young-looking saint, most likely Panteleimon/Pantaleon. Rev.: Σφρα[γ(ις) Ἰ]ωάννου ὁστη[αρ(ίου)] ἑβδομα[ρ(ίου) (καὶ)] ἀναγρα[φ(ις) τῆς Μυτ(ιλήνης)].

Bibl.: on the offices of *ostiarios* and *anagrapheus*, see *ODB* 1540 and 84; on the office of *hebdomarios* see LEONTARITOU, *Εκκλησιαστικά αξιώματα* 192-195.

98. Ioannes poimen of Mytilene (Ἰωάννης)

D Last third of the 11th c.

B Owner of a seal on the reverse of which, in two dodecasyllabic verses, he is referred to as *protosynkellos* and *poimen* of Mytilene. Laurent held that he occupied the see of Mytilene at some point after metropolitan Konstantinos (attested in 1054) and before Niketas (attested in 1089 and 1092). The title of *protosynkellos* is known to have been created by the mid-11th c. and abolished at the beginning of Alexios I Komnenos' reign.

S LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/1 no. 753 [= *CBSDO* 51.8 (p. 153)]; Obv.: bust of St John the Baptist flanked by the inscription: “ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος. Rev. Ὁμωνυμοῦντα πρωτοσύγκελλ(ον) σκέποι(ς) // τὸ πρόδρομον φῶς Μιτυλήνης ποιμένα.”

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 190.

99. Kalamotine Eirene (Καλαμοτινὴ Εἰρήνη)

D Second half of the 12th c.

B A rich lady hailing from the village of Loutra that helped St Gregorios of Assos build a church dedicated to the Theotokos. More precisely, the saint, being in need of beasts of burden and a carriage and possessing only three golden *nomismata*, came to meet her at her village. Aware of whom she was talking to, the lady asked her servant to fetch from the mountain two oxen which carried the wood needed for the construction of the monastery church.

The woman is simply referred to as a widow (γυνὴ χήρα) in the short version preserved in codex *Megisti Lavra* 1824/Ω 14.

A village Kalamote exists on south Chios; see TOMASCHEK, *Topographie von Kleinasien* 20: “Der Mastixertrag der Catomerea, zumal des Thales von Calamoti, wurde im porto Mastico nach dem Orient ausgeführt”; also MALAMUT, *Les îles de l’empire byzantin* 236; and KODER, *Aigaion* 183, who dates its first mention to the Genoese period (1379).

S *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Patmos), ed. HALKIN p. 23; ed. SOPHIANOS, 338-339: “...προσσχὼν δὲ καὶ μὴ εὐπορῶν ἑτέρου ἢ μόνων χρυσίνων τριῶν, ἀκούσας περὶ τὰ Λουτρά, χωρίον οὕτω λεγόμενον, ἢ γέ τινα γυναῖκα πλουσία<ν>, Εἰρήνην Καλαμοτινὴν λεγομένην, ἀναλαβόμενος τοὺς τρεῖς χρυσίνους πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπορεύθη. Ταύτην δ’ ἐντυχὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς περὶ οὗ ἐκείσε αὐτὸς εἰλκύσθη καὶ ὥς εὐλογίαν δεδωκὼς αὐτοῦς, αὐτὴ συνετὴ οὖσα καὶ μὴ ἀγνοήσασα πρὸς τίνα τὴν χάριν ἔχει ποιῆσαι, φιλοτίμως πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον ἀπεκρίνατο· «Ὡς ἔχει μὲν ζῶα τοιαῦτα πολλά, ἄγρια δὲ ὄντα ἐν τῷ ὄρει διαιτῶντα, εἴπερ γοῦν δυνατόν σοι καὶ ὅλην ἀγαγεῖν τὴν ἀγέλην καὶ ἔχειν πρὸς ἡν εἴρηκας ὑπηρεσίαν, ἔστω κατὰ τὸ αἰτηθὲν τῇ ἀγιωσύνῃ σου.» Καὶ ὁ ἅγιος πρὸς αὐτὴν· «Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, ἔφη, ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ἀζωτίοις τὰς ἀδαμάστους ἡμερώσας δαμάλεις...” and *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (*Megiste Lavra*), ed. SOPHIANOS pp. 315-316.

100. Kale mother of St Thomaïs (Καλή)

D 10th c.

B Mother of St Thomaïs; suffering from sterility, she and her husband demonstrated great piety so the Virgin Mary appeared to her in a dream and predicted the birth of a daughter. Soon after Thomaïs was born, she and her husband Michael settled somewhere by the Bosphoros (identified with Chalkedon in the *Laudation* by Konstantinos Akropolites). Following the marriage of her daughter and death of her husband, Kale embraced the monastic life and later became abbess of the monastery *ta Mikra Rhomaiou* in Constantinople.

Interestingly, the name Kale recurs in a 14th c.-document referring to possessions on Lesbos (*Actes de Lavra* II 155-156).

S a) *vita* of St Thomaïs of Lesbos A, pp. 234-236: “... τούτῳ συνέζευκτο καὶ συνεργὸς τοῦ βίου Καλή, τὸ ἦθος καλλίστη, καλλίων δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν...” (extracts).— Engl. tr.: *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 297 ff.

b) *vita* of St Thomaïs of Lesbos B, pp. 192-193: as in *Michael, father of St Thomaïs*.

c) Akropolites, *Laudation of St Thomaïs of Lesbos* 1-3, p. 242: as in *Michael, father of St Thomaïs*.

Bibl.: as in *Thomaïs or Thomaë saint*.

101. Komnenos Leon (Κομνηνὸς Λέων)

D May 1180 or 1195, February 1192 or 1207

B The son of Manuel Xeros; after the death of his father, he was the second person to act as a *charistikarios* for the monastery of Hagios Menas of Kato Ptomaia (or -oi) on Lesbos. As the new holder of the monastery, he signed a *sigillion* ensuring that Ioannes Serbes would be paid the amount of ten *trikephala* every year.

As the son bore a different name than the father, an association with the Komnenoi family on his mother's side cannot be excluded. The possibility also cannot be excluded that this was an absentee landowner, in residence elsewhere.

S *PRK* I 498-500 no. 86 (= *MM* I 125): “ἐπεὶ συμφωνία γέγονε μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ μητροπολίτου ἐκείνου Μιτυλήνης κῦρ Πόθου τοῦ Ἀπλησφάρη ἐκείνου ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ δυσὶ προσώποις παρ’ ἐκείνου δωρηθεῖση μονῇ τῶν Κάτω Πτωμαίων τῇ κατὰ Μιτυλήνην διακειμένη, ὥστε ἐτησίως ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς τελεῖν νομίσματα τρικέφαλα καινούργια τὰ κατὰ χώραν ἀπαιτούμενα εἴκοσι καὶ τὰ μὲν δέκα καταβάλλειν πρὸς τὴν ἀγιωτάτην μητρόπολιν, τὰ δὲ δέκα διδόναι πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἡμῶν, τοῦ προέδρου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σερβῆ, ἰδοὺ διὰ τοῦ παρόντος ἡμῶν σιγιλίου ὑποτυπούμεν λαμβάνειν κατέτος τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ δηλωθέντος Σερβῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐνεργούντος τὰ κατὰ Μιτυλήνην ἡμέτερα κτήματα τὰ δηλωθέντα δέκα καινούργια τρισκέφαλα καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ μέρους αὐτοῦ ἀπόδειξιν. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σιγίλλιον τῇ οἰκειοχείρῳ ἡμῶν ὑπογραφῇ καὶ τῇ μολυβδίνῃ βούλλῃ πιστωθὲν ἐπεδόθη τῷ Σερβῇ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν.” [The preceding text is reproduced almost verbatim in *PRK* I 490, no. 83 (= *MM* I 122).] “+ Εἶχε τό · μηνὶ μαῖῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ιγ’, καὶ ὑπογραφὴν · Μανουὴλ ὁ Ξηρός, καὶ βούλλαν μολυβδίνην κρεμαμένην, ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐνὶ μέρει ἔχουσιν ἐγγεγλυμμένους δύο ἁγίους μάρτυρας, ἦγουν τὸν ἅγιον Θεόδωρον καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Δημήτριον, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ μέρει στίχον ἔχοντα οὕτως · Ξηρὸν Μανουὴλ μαρτύρων δυνάς σκέποις.

Τὸ παρὸν σιγίλλιον τοῦ μακαρίτου αὐθέντου καὶ πατρός μου βουλόμεθα ἔχειν τὸ ἐνεργόν, μέχρις ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τοῖς ζῶσι διάγωμεν, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ περίληψιν. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ τετύπεται λαμβάνειν τὸν ἐν τούτῳ δηλούμενον Ἰωάννην τὸν Σερβὴν τὸν καὶ Κλαυσηνὸν μέχρι πέρατος τῶν δύο προσώπων νομίσματα τρικέφαλα καινούργια δέκα, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον δεύτερον πρόσωπον εἰς ἡμᾶς περιήλθεν, ὀφείλει καὶ αὐτός, ὡς εἴρηται, τὰ τοιαῦτα δέκα τρικέφαλα ἀνυστερήτως λαμβάνειν ἐτησίως ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς τῶν Πτωμαίων, μέχρις ἂν τῷ βίῳ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμίᾳ περιέμι. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σιγίλλιον τοῦ μακαρίτου αὐθέντου καὶ πατρός μου ὑπεγράφη καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐξ αἰτήσεως τοῦ δηλωθέντος Σερβῆ εἰς οἰκίαν ἀσφάλειαν. + Εἶχε τό · μηνὶ φεβρουαρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος δεκάτης, καὶ τό · Λέων ὁ Κομνηνός.”

Bibl.: LAURENT, *Regestes* 1358; MOUTZOURES, *Τὰ χαριστικά* 538-543, 566-569; ANGOLD, *Church* 337-338.

102. Konstantinos archbishop of Methymna (Κωνσταντῖνος)

D First half of the 11th c.

B His name appears in two seals that came from the same *boulloterion*.

S *CBSDO* 52.1 (p. 145): Obv.: bust of the Virgin Mary flanked by the sigla corresponding to Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Rev.: “Κων(σταντῖνος) ἐλέω Θε(ο)ῦ ἀρχιεπ(ίσ)κοπ(ος) Μηθύμν(ης).”

103. Konstantinos metropolitan of Mytilene (Κωνσταντῖνος)

D 1054

B A participant in the synod of 1054 that decreed schism between the patriarchate of Constantinople and the papacy.

S MANSI XIX 812D-E (= PG 120 col 737A): “... Κωνσταντίνου Μιτυλήνης ...”

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 190; GRUMEL, *Regestes* III n. 869; *CBSDO* 143.

104. Konstantinos metropolitan of Mytilene (Κωνσταντῖνος)

D End of 12th c.

B Owner of a seal the obverse of which represents St Theodora, identifiable with the Alexandrine Theodora martyred under Diocletian. The metropolis of Mytilene was dedicated to this saint [cf. *AnBoll* 18 (1899) 226].

S LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/1 no. 755 [= *CBSDO* 51.7 (p. 143)]: Obv.: a vertical inscription ἡ ὁσία Θεοδώρα. Rev: Κωνσταντίνου σφράγισμα τοῦ Μητυλήνης (sic).

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 192; for this seal, see KALAVREZOU, *Women* no. 23 (p. 65).

105. Konstantinos IX Monomachos (Κωνσταντῖνος Μονομάχος)

D 1034/1035-1042

B Emperor; a man of noble origin and of some learning, he was also distinguished for his physical appearance and his good manners. Married for the second time to the daughter of Poulcheria, Romanos III's sister, he enjoyed remarkable authority during the latter's reign (1028-1034), though without ever having been offered high office. A seal gives him the joined titles of *protospatharios* and *logothetes ton agelon* and another that of *chartoularios* and *krites* of the Opsikion theme. The fact that he was appointed judge by Zoe Porphyrogennita bears out the hypothesis that he had a civil career. Seen as a good candidate for the throne after Romanos' violent death (11 April 1034), Monomachos was, shortly after, exiled to Lesbos by Michael IV the Paphlagonian. This is what both Skylitzes and Attaleiates record (though the latter does not mention Lesbos); by contrast, Psellos, Zonaras, and Glykas have it that exile was the punishment imposed by Michael IV and his brother Ioannes Orphanotrophos for a rumored affair between Konstantinos and the empress Zoe. The life of the exiled Konstantinos on Lesbos was not a solitary one; his mistress Maria Skleraina, first cousin of his second wife, was his companion. According to Michael Psellos, the exile lasted for seven years, i.e., almost throughout Michael IV's reign (1034-1041). In a panegyric pronounced in honor of Monomachos, the same author alludes to a decision to blind Konstantinos while in exile; this was never to happen as a shipwreck prevented the boat of the executioner from reaching Lesbos. Psellos interpreted this shipwreck as a sign of divine providence.

As his recall to Constantinople occurred in April 1042, Konstantinos must have set foot on the island in 1035 at the latest. Taking advantage both of his intimate relations with the empress Zoe Porphyrogennita and the overthrow of Michael V Kalaphates, he was invited to ascend the throne. His return to the capital was enthusiastically received by the crowd. Konstantinos Monomachos was therefore the only exile on Lesbos who not only did not die there, but who departed from the island for a better and glorious life.

According to the *vita* A of St Lazaros of Mt Galesion, shortly before setting out for Constantinople Monomachos was visited in Mytilene by a monk coming from Mt Galesion via Smyrne. The man told him that his imminent ascension to the throne had been predicted by St Lazaros. The whole was but a forgery by the monk himself in order to elicit the future emperor's favor for his own interests. Monomachos promised that if he ever ruled as emperor, he would be glad to receive the holy man (i.e., Lazaros) and fulfill any of his wishes. The anonymous monk did not travel back to Mt Galesion, but only to Smyrne. Upon hearing that Monomachos was proclaimed emperor, he came to the capital and visited him anew. Before embarking on a ship and returning to Smyrne, the monk was given a great quantity of money and some spices.

Gregorios of Cyprus, the author of the *vita* B of St Lazaros of Mt Galesion, gives a different and at least in part false version of the same events. To begin with, he claims that it was Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034) who exiled Monomachos to Lesbos and upon whose death he was recalled to the capital; his ascension to the throne was predicted by St Lazaros who sent a message to him on Lesbos asking him to endure these troubles. To express his gratitude, Monomachos provided the financial means for the

building of the church of Anastasis on Mt Galesion. The same story is transmitted in the abridged version of the *vita* preserved in cod. *Mosquensis* 369 (353), f. 219.

Later but hardly reliable sources report that during his years of exile Monomachos travelled down to Chios, Samos, and Ephesos. His name was associated with the foundation of Nea Mone on Mt Provateion on Chios, but it is now known that the monastery owned estates before Monomachos' ascension to the throne. Nonetheless, it is true that Konstantinos IX granted to Nea Mone several tax and legal privileges.

The first secure reference to Monomachos as a family name dates from the first half of the 10th c. Without ever becoming a very common name, its attestations multiply in the 11th c.

- S a) Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 6.17.5-10: "...εἴθ' ὕστερον αἰτίας τινὰς ἐπ' ἐκείνον πλάσάμενος καὶ τινὰς σχεδιάσας λογοποιούς, ἀπελεύνηι τῆς Πόλεως καὶ περιγράφτοις τοῦτον ὁρίοις κολάζει· ἡ νῆσος δὲ Μιτυλήνη τὸ ὄριον, ἔνθα δὴ ἐπταετὴ διήθλησε συμφορὰν, τὸ μέτρον τῆς τοῦ Μιχαὴλ βασιλείας διηνυκῶς· κληρονομεῖ δὲ τὸ κατ' αὐτοῦ μῖσος καὶ ὁ δευτέρος Μιχαὴλ"; cf. *ibid.* 6.51.1-7 (text in *Skleraina Maria*).
- b) Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. THURN p. 423.33-35: "... μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξορίας Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Μονομάχον, παρὰ τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου τὴν νῆσον Μιτυλήνην κατακριθέντα οἰκεῖν..."
- c) Zonaras, *Epitome Historion* 17.20.15-16, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST pp. 615.15-616.3: "... ὁ Μιχαὴλ ... βασιλεύσας εἰς Λέσβον περιορίζει τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπ' αἰτίαις δὴ τισι πεπλασμέναις, τὸ δ' ἦν τὸ ζηλότυπον. Καὶ ἦν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ὑπερόριος καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Μιχαὴλ εὐμενεστέρου τετύχηκεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κράτος ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν Ζωὴν, λύεται μὲν τῆς ὑπερορίας ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἤγετο πρὸς τὴν τῶν πόλεων βασιλεύουσιν..."; German tr.: Zonaras, *Chronik* 89-90.
- d) Glykas, *Βίβλος χρονική*, ed. BEKKER p. 593.6-14: "... ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τὸν Μονομάχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξορίας μεταπέμπεται, παρὰ τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου τὴν Μιτυλήνην κατακριθέντα οἰκεῖν ... τῶν κρατούντων ἡδὴ παρελθόντων Λεσβόθεν τῇ βασιλίδι μεταπέμπεται· ἐξώριστο γὰρ ἐκείθεν παρὰ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἅτε τῇ βασιλίδι συμφθεῖρεσθαι λεγόμενος· ἐπανακέκληται οὖν, εἰ καὶ σβεσθῆναι παρὰ μικρὸν τὰς κόρας ἐκινδύνευε..."
- e) Michael Psellos, *Orationes Panegyricae* 2, ed. DENNIS p. 40 v. 561-566: "... ἡ δὲ βασιλεία Ῥωμαίων ... ὑπερορίαν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καταδικάζῃ, καὶ νῆσός σε φαύλη, διὰ σε δὲ ὄλβιος Βαβυλὼν ἢ νέον Βυζάντιον, πολιοῦχον τάχα καὶ οἰκιστὴν δέχεται ..." and p. 43, v. 652-655: "... λάμπει καὶ αὖθις ἡ βασιλίς, καὶ ἦν σελήνη μὴ ἔχουσα ἥλιον. Γῆς ἐζητεῖτο φωστήρ, καὶ τοῦτον εἶχε σε ἡ Μιτυλήνη· τριήρεις οὖν σοι εὐθὺς ἐπέμποντο καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς."
- f) Gregorios the Monk, *Life of St Lazaros Galesiotes* 230, p. 579: "... Ὡς γὰρ οὗτος ἦν περιερχόμενος, γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι τὸν Μονομάχον ψηφίζονται βασιλέα, ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἀπῆλθεν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνος ἐξώριστος. Καὶ γραφὴν ὡς ἀπὸ πατρὸς πλάσάμενος, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ· εἶχε δὲ οὕτως περιλήψεως ἡ γραφή· "Ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι, ὅτι οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας βασιλεύσαι ἔχεις..." (extracts).
- g) Manasses, *Breviarium Chronicum*, ed. LAMPSIDES vv. 6139-6151 (p. 331-332): "... Λεσβόθεν μεταπέμπεται σκάφεσι λαίφοπτεροις, // ὃν Μονομάχον ἔλεγον ἐκ πατρεπωνυμίας· // καὶ γὰρ καταδεδίκαστο αὐτὴν οἰκεῖν τὴν νῆσον // ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος, // ... τὴν Λέσβον οὖν κατακριθεὶς οἰκεῖν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος // καὶ κινδυνεύσας παρ' οὐδὲν σβεσθῆναι καὶ τὰς κόρας, // αἵφνης πεσόντος ἔμπαλιν τοῦ κύβου τοῦ τῆς τύχης // ... αὐτάναξ ἀποδείκνυται, δεσπότης ὁ πρὶν δοῦλος..." (extracts).
- h) Gregorios of Cyprus, *Life of St Lazaros Galesiotes* 30, p. 600: "... Ῥωμανός... Κωνσταντῖνῳ, ὃν Μονομάχον τοῦπικλιν ... εἰς τοσοῦτον μανίας ἐξήλασεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀειφυγίαν καταψηφίσασθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἅμα καὶ βασιλίδος ποιήσασθαι ὑπερόριον, μέντοι γε καὶ κατεδίκαζεν ὁ κρατῶν· τὸν δὲ νῆσος εἶχεν ἡ Μιτυλήνη, τὰς περιστοιχισάσας τύχας ὀλοφυρόμενον ..." (extracts).
- i) LAMPROPOULOU, Λάζαρος Γαλησιώτης 592; and IVANOV, *Žitie Lazarja* 357-358: "ἐκείσε τοίνυν τὸν τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστάσεως ναὸν ἐδείματο, ὅπου τὴν βάσιν τοῦ πυρίνου στύλου κατείδε τῶν ἀναλωμάτων παρὰ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως Κωνσταντῖνου Μονομάχου ἀφθόνων στελλομένων· ὅστις δὴ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πλεῖονα πίστιν ἔσχεν, ὡς προειπόντα αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λέσβῳ διὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἀνάρρησιν ..."

Related source: Attaleiates, *History*, ed. PRESLE and BEKKER p. 18.4-8; ed. I. PEREZ MARTIN p. 15.

Bibl.: BOURDARA, Καθοσίωσις 110-111; CHEYNET, Pouvoir 46; MALAMUT, Route des saints 278-279; MORRIS, Monks and Laymen 106; YILDIZ ÖTÜKEN, Konstantin IX 179-180; HONDRIDOU, Κωνσταντῖνος Μονομάχος 44-52; *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion* 327-328 (§ 230) and cf. 58-60; IVANOV, *Žitie Lazarja* 357-358; DENNIS, Capital Punishment 205.

106. Konstantinos So...

D Between 1020 and 1035

B *Spatharokandidatos*, *asekretis*, and *megas kourator* of Mytilene.

S *CBSDO* 51.4 (p. 142): inscription on both sides: “[Κ(ύρι)]ε β(οή)θ(ει) {τῷ} σῷ δού(λῳ) {Κω]ν(σταντίνῳ) σπα[θ(α)ρ(ο)]καν(διδάτῳ), ἀση[κρη]τ(ις) (καὶ) μ(ε)γ(άλῳ) κου[ράτορι] Μητυλ[ήν(ης)] τῷ Σω...”

Bibl.: LOUIZIDIS, Κουράτορας 35; on *kouratores* see *ODB* 1155-1156; KAPLAN, *Maisons impériales* 355-358; IDEM, *Les hommes et la terre* 313-319; CHEYNET, *Épiskeptai* 91-92.

107. Konstanto (Κωνσταντώ)

D Ca. 699/700-772/773

B Wife of Hadrianos and mother of the three sanctified brothers David, Symeon, and Georgios, and of another four children (among whom Hilaria); at the time she was pregnant with David, and as she was heading for the baths, she met a monk edifying several soldiers. He stood up suddenly and rendered her obeisance. To the astonished soldiers who saw him doing that for a second time he predicted that “a company of great holy men and most genuine servants of God will be born <of her>”. Shortly before her demise, she came to Mt Ida to visit her elderly son David to whom she entrusted her eight-year-old son Symeon so that he could be trained in the divine contests and ascetic exercises. She died on Lesbos at the age of seventy-three.

S *ADSG* 213.3-218.24 (§§ 2-8); ed. PHOUNTOULIS pp. 18.24-23.2 (§§ 2-8): “...ὀλίγας ἐκεῖσε μετὰ ταῦτα προσμείνασα ἡμέρας συνταξαμένη αὐτῷ ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ πρὸς Κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν, τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη τὰ πάντα βιώσασα...” (extracts); also text as in *Hadrianos*, and *Anonymous monk on Lesbos*; Engl. tr.: *Defenders of Images* 152-161.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 4057; *PBE*: Konstanto I; ŠEVČENKO, *Hagiography* 117-118.

108. Kontostephanos Stephanos (Κοντοστέφανος Στέφανος)

D Spring 1148

B Husband of Anna, sister of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos; he was appointed *megas doux* and entrusted with the leadership of the Byzantine fleet that was to attack Kerkyra, which was occupied by the Normans. The whole enterprise was carried out jointly with the Venetians and with success, but Kontostephanos was killed by a stone shot during the siege. The so-called *Metaphrasis* of the *History* of Niketas Choniates, to which the earliest witness is *Monacensis gr.* 450 (dating from the first half of the 14th century), adds a passage according to which the fleet stationed in Molivon (i.e., Methymna) on the island of Mytilene, where Venetian ships anchored in a separate harbor so as not to be mixed with the Byzantine ones. In the same *Metaphrasis*, Mytilene (i.e., Lesbos) is mentioned again when Byzantine ships were attacked by the Venetians near the small island of Asteris (lying between Ithake and Kephallenia). The redactor of the *Metaphrasis* inexplicably replaced Euboia as the place of the ships' origin with Mytilene.

Though rather unreliable regarding the route followed by the Byzantine fleet led by Kontostephanos, the addition in the *Metaphrasis* provides the earliest attestation in Greek of the toponym Molivos (-n) (see KODER, *Aigaion*, 229).

S DAVIS, *Μετάφραση της Χρονικῆς Διηγήσεως*, v. 2, p. 37: “... προβάλλεται τὸν ἐπ’ ἀδελφῇ γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Κοντοστέφανον Στέφανον μέγαν δούκαν τοῦ στόλου ὅλου ἀρχηγὸν καὶ κελεύει ἀπέρχεσθαι ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν πεζικὴν στρατιὰν ἑτέροις ἀρχηγοῖς παραδούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστικῷ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Ἀξούχ, περὶ οὗ εἶπαμεν ἐν πολλοῖς. Φθάσας γοῦν ὁ στόλος περὶ τὸ Μόλιβον, ἐν γῇ Μυτιλήνης, διαμερίζονται τὰ τῶν Βενετῶν κάτεργα εἰς λιμένα ἴδιον τὰ εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐλθόντα, ὥς ἂν μὴ ὦσιν ἀναμεμιγμένα μετὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων...” [corresponding to Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. VAN DIETEN p. 77 (= Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio* 178)] and p. 45: “... ὅθεν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ξηρὰν μὴ

δυνάμενοι μάχεσθαι, τὰ κάτεργα αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος ἐπιτηδείως παρέσυραν, καὶ κατὰ τινα νῆσον ἀπελθόντες, ἡ Ἀστερίς ὀνομάζεται, ταύτην ἐκούρσευσαν καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πλοίοις ῥωμαϊκοῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ Μυτιλήνης ἐλθοῦσι κακῶς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς διαθέμενοι, τέλος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πλοῖα κατέκαυσαν...” [corresponding to Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. VAN DIETEN p. 86 (= Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio* 198)].

Related sources: a) Kinnamos, *History* 3.4, ed. MEINEKE pp. 96-97; b) Theodoros Prodromos, *Gedichte*, nos. 48-51, pp. 436-443.

Bibl.: on the family: GRÉGOIRE, Contostéphanes 152-161; CHALANDON, Comnène, v. 2 216, 323-329; BARZOS, Γενεαλογία, v. 1 380-390; MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 53-54; DAVIS, Metaphrase of Niketas Choniates 127-142.

109. Lakapenos Stephanos (Λακαπηνὸς Στέφανος)

D 27 Jan. 945-948, then 948-Holy Saturday 963

B The penultimate son of Romanos I Lakapenos and co-emperor (924-945) along with his brothers Konstantinos and Christophoros; married to Anna. After they were all dethroned by the legal emperor Konstantinos VII Porphyrogennetos, Stephanos was sent to a prison at Prokonnesos in the sea of Marmara. Later on, he was exiled to Rhodes and then to Lesbos. In the description of the naval expedition of 949 against Crete, it is said that, while he was on Rhodes, four dromones, each of 220 men, were left behind to guard him: Konstantinos VII, *The Book of Ceremonies* 2.45, ed. REISKE p. 665. He spent the first years of his exile in Mytilene, the rest in Methymna. In 948 Theophanes the *parakoimomenos* organized a plot aiming at the return of Romanos I Lakapenos from exile and his restoration to the throne; some others (Leon Kladon, Gregorios the Macedonian, Theodosios the first among the *hippokomoi* of Stephanos and Ioannes the *rhaiktor*) decided to call Stephanos back from Mytilene. However, both plots were revealed; Theophanes and his partners were exiled, whereas the supporters of Stephanos suffered the same punishment after they were flogged, had their properties confiscated, and their noses cut. In later years, though still exiled, Stephanos was a problem for the eunuch Ioseph Bringas, who, powerful during the reign of Romanos II (959-963), ordered that he be watched under closer guard. Nonetheless, Stephanos died unexpectedly on Holy Saturday in 963 after he took communion. It was thought that his death was caused by a plot conceived by the empress Theophano.

S a) Theophanes Continuatus, ed. BEKKER pp. 437.15-438.7: “...εἴθ’ οὕτως ἐξωρίσθησαν, ὁ μὲν Στέφανος εἰς Προικόννησον... ἀπὸ δὲ Προικονήσου εἰς Ῥόδον, ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥόδου εἰς Μιτυλήνην...”

b) Georgios the Monk Continuatus, ed. ISTRIN p. 65: “...ἀπὸ δὲ Προικονήσου εἰς Ῥόδον, ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥόδου εἰς Μιτυλήνην ...”

c) Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. THURN p. 236.90-91: “...μεταστήσας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὸν μὲν Στέφανον ἐν Προικοννήσῳ, εἶτα ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ, τὸν δὲ Κωνσταντῖνον ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ. Ἄλλ’ ὁ μὲν Στέφανος μεγαλοψύχως τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας φέρων αὐτῷ τύχας διετέλεσεν ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑννεακαίδεκα βιοτεύων ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ ...”; *ibid.* p. 239.54-55: “...τὸν Στέφανον ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐκ Μιτυλήνης ἀγαγεῖν καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐγκαθιδρῦσαι. Ἄλλ’ ὑπὸ τινων συνωμοτῶν μηνυθέντων τῶν βουλευμάτων, ὁ μὲν Θεοφάνης ἐξωρίσθη σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συνεργοῖς, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Στεφάνου ἀντιποιοῦμενοι τυφθέντες καὶ δημευθέντες καὶ τὰς ρίνας τμηθέντες ἐξωρίσθησαν.”; *ibid.* p. 255.66-72: “Υφωράτο δὲ ὁ Βρίγγας καὶ Στέφανον τὸν βασιλέα, μέχρι τότε τοῖς ζῶσι συναριθμούμενον καὶ ἐξόριστον ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τυγχάνοντα, καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐφρόντιζεν ὑπὸ ἀκριβεστέραν αὐτὸν εἶναι φυλακὴν. Ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ μεγάλου σαββάτου τῶν θείων μετεσχηκῶς μυστηρίων εὐθὺς τέθηκεν αἰφνιδίως, μηδεμιᾶς προηγησαμένης αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς Θεοφανοῦς, εἰ καὶ πόρρωθεν κατῴκιστο, κατεργασαμένης αὐτόν.”; French tr.: Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs* 119, 201, 216.

d) Zonaras, *Epitome Historion* 16.20.19, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST p. 481.14-15: “...ἐκεῖθεν οὖν ὁ μὲν Στέφανος ἐν Προικοννήσῳ περιωρίσθη, κάκειθεν εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ταύτης εἰς Μιτυλήνην μετετέθη ...”; 16.21.12-13, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST p. 484.2-6: “...τὸν Στέφανον ἐκ Λέσβου λαβεῖν μελετησάντων καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄμφω τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος.”; 16.30, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST p. 495.2-6: “... καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ Στέφανος ὁ τοῦ Λακαπηνοῦ ἐν Λέσβῳ τηρούμενος κατὰ Μήθυμναν ὑποπτος ἦν· αἰφνίδιον δὲ καὶ ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς φανεράς αἰτίας θανὼν ὑποψίαν δέδωκε παρὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης κατεργασθῆναι Θεοφανοῦς.”

Bibl.: *ODB* 1203-1204 (on the family); *RUNCIMAN*, Romanus Lecapenus 234; *KAZHDAN*, Armiane 11-13; *HERLONG*, Kinship 152-153; *PRYOR* and *JEFFREYS*, *ΔΡΟΜΩΝ* 556.

110. Leon bishop of Mytilene (Λέων)

D 815-before 843

B Iconoclast bishop of Mytilene; enthroned by his namesake emperor Leon V in 815, he took over the see of the deposed bishop Georgios who was exiled to Chersonesos in Thrace. As the stylite Symeon opposed Iconoclasm, Leon launched a persecution denouncing him to the emperor Leon V and the patriarch Theodotos Kassiteras. The iconoclast emperor sent an emissary to afflict Symeon with tortures. When, after the murder of Leon V and Michael II's ascension to the throne, people were allowed to worship freely, the bishop Leon felt unable to carry on the persecution of Symeon who attracted orthodox crowds. Therefore he departed for Constantinople where he feigned resignation from his bishopric, thereby eliciting from the patriarch Theodotos a judgement against the holy man. Leon was thus allowed to exile Symeon wherever he wished. Accordingly, upon returning to Lesbos, he condemned Symeon to live on the uninhabited island named Lagousai. Taking advantage of the holy man's expulsion, Leon continued the persecution of the orthodox people of Mytilene and its territory. On the pretext of raising cash, he ordered that iconophile monasteries be sold lock, stock, and barrel; among these monasteries were those under the direction of Symeon's brother Georgios. Once Leon received the purchased price for those properties, he forced Georgios and his monks to leave their monasteries and live in a small village called Myrsinas.

S *ADSG* 227.3-25 (§ 15), 229.23-230.1 (§ 16), 230.23-231.5 (§ 17), 241.24-35 (§ 25); ed. *PHOUNTOULIS* pp. 29.41-30.35 (§ 15), 31.45-32.9 (§ 16), 32.31-46 (§ 17), 40.32-43 (§ 25): "...τοῦ θηριωνύμου γὰρ καὶ ἀνδρὸς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἀνταρτικῶς δεξαμένου θηριώνυμος ὡσαύτως καὶ θηριότροπος καὶ τῇ Λέσβου ἐπαρχία ἐπαρχία ἀρχιερεὺς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐπέβη... εἰς μανίαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ (sc. Symeon) ὁ τῆς Λέσβου πρόεδρος θηριωδῶς παρώρμησε... ὑπὸ τῆς νήσου αἰρεσιάρχου ἐπισκόπου ὀχλούμενος μετώκισε εἰς ἕτερον νησίδιον... τὸν θεοφάντορα Συμεὼν ὁ ῥηθεὶς ἀρχιερεὺς πάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁσημέραι τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους συρρέοντας ποταμηδὸν θεώμενος στέργειν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' ἦν ταῖς ἀκίστι τοῦ φθόνου βαλλόμενος. Μὴ οὖν δυνάμενος κακοποιῆσαι τὸν Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον τί ποιεῖ; Πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀναδραμὼν πρόσεισι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀρχιερεῖ, παραίτησιν δῆθεν τοῦ ἰδίου θρόνου ποιούμενος· «ὁ στυλῖτης γάρ, ἔλεγεν, ἐν τῇ κληρωθείσῃ μοι προεδρεῖα ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος, οὐκ ἐγώ» ... τῆς βασιλευούσης ἐκπλεύσας καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐπιβὰς πόλει, [εἰς] νῆσον εὐτελῇ καὶ ἀοίκητον Λαγούσας ἐπονομαζομένην καταδικάζει τὸν ἅγιον... Ὁ γὰρ τῆς Λέσβου ... πρόεδρος, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας διώκτης καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας διδάσκαλος, τοιοῦτον τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τε Μιτυλήνῃ καὶ τῇ περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπαρχία, μετὰ τὸν μακάριον ἀποσκευάσασθαι Συμεὼν, ὀρθοδόξοις τὸν διωγμὸν ἀνερρίπισεν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς εὐαγεῖς οἴκους καὶ τὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἱερὰ φροντιστήρια σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀφρόνως ἀπεμπολεῖσθαι διακελεύσασθαι καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῷ μακαρίῳ τοίνυν Γεωργίῳ μονύδρια τοῖς ἐνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἀκινήτοις ἅμα χάριν ἀργυρολογίας διαπρασάμενος..." (extracts); Engl. tr.: *Defenders of Images* 178-186 and 208.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 4415; *PBE*: Leon 117; *FEDALTO*, Hierarchia 216; *MOUTZOURES*, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 187.

111. Leon *dioiketes* of Mytilene (Λέων)

D Last quarter of the 8th c.

B *Dioiketes* of Mytilene, owner of a seal.

S *ZACOS* and *VEGLERY* no. 3135 (p. 1755): Obv.: Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ. Rev.: Λέοντι διοικητῇ Μιτυλήνης.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 4355; *PBE*: Leon 202; *CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU*, Τὰ σφραγιστικά κατάλοιπα 20-21; *WINKELMANN*, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 135; *BRANDES*, Finanzverwaltung 212.

112. Leon-Leontios of Assos (Λέων, Λεόντιος)

D 12th c. (or 11th c.?)

B Disciple and closest companion of St Gregorios of Assos. He was the son of a protopresbyter from the town of Assos and at the age of 15 he was entrusted to the guidance of St Gregorios. Because of his spiritual advancement he was envied by his fellow countrymen who finally accused him and his master of having illegal relations (συμφθείρεσθαι). Forced thus to leave Assos overnight they departed for the Leukai islets where at the local monastery Leon was tonsured a monk taking the name of Leontios. After a while they moved to Lesbos where Leontios led the life of a solitary along with his teacher. To him Gregorios predicted that his staff would spring up as a tree and that his tomb would gush forth water like a fountain. Also, before bidding him farewell in this world, Gregorios edified the same Leontios with a series of spiritual counsels. The third day after Leontios and the other monks of the monastery of the Theotokos buried the saint's body, they witnessed the miraculous springing up of water from the tomb. Later on, he helped the saint's mother to identify her son. He also buried the saint's mother, who had become a nun, into the katholikon of the monastery.

The name of Leon-Leontios and many details from his life, especially those concerning the town of Assos, are missing from the *Synaxarion* notice by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos.

S a) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Patmos), ed. HALKIN pp. 16-29; ed. SOPHIANOS pp. 330-346; and *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Megiste Lavra), ed. *ibid.* pp. 307-318: as in *Gregorios of Assos, saint*.

b) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (*Synaxarion*), ed. HALKIN pp. 31-32; ed. SOPHIANOS p. 338.

113. Machetarios (Μαχητάριος)

D First half of the 12th c.

B Property owner on Lesbos or the name of the property; his name is among those mentioned in the concluding section of the *Typikon* of Christ Pantokrator, the well-known monastery founded by Ioannes II Komnenos (1118-1142) or his wife Eirene (d. 1134). These possessions were assigned to the monastery for the sake of its maintainance. The possibility cannot be excluded that he was an absentee landowner, in residence elsewhere.

According to MALAMUT, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin*, 499: "les M. possédaient dans l'île d'importants domaines dont une partie fut donnée en 1136 au monastère du Pantocratôr. La famille des Machêtarioi est une famille d'origine arménienne bien représentée aux 11^e-12^e siècles." If the family of Machetarioi is of Armenian descent, their Greek name derives from the word *mxitâr*, meaning comforter. Of course, it can simply be of Greek origin and derive from *μαχητής*; see KAZHDAN, *Sostav* 192; cf. also 120 and 127; *IDEM*, *Armiane* 100-103 (no. 28); and KAZHDAN and RONCHEY, *L'aristocrazia* 367. The name was not uncommon in the 11th and 12th centuries. Mentioned only by his family name, a Machetarios was a correspondent of Michael Psellos, *Letter S* 108, ed. SATHAS pp. 352-353, and of Theophylaktos Hephastos (of Ochrid), *Letter* 44, ed. GAUTIER pp. 276-279). The former was a *droungarios of the Vigla*, whereas the latter must have been a judge. First names of other members of that family are Niketas, Georgios, and Basileios, all attested on seals (see GAUTIER, *ibid.*, p. 276, n. 1). For a Venetian Machitarius, signatory to a treaty of the late 11th century, see FRANKOPAN, *Byzantine Trade Privileges* 160 n. 101.

S *Typikon of Pantokrator*, ed. GAUTIER p. 123, v. 1545: "τὰ ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ κτήματα τοῦ Μαχηταρίου"; Engl. tr.: R. JORDAN, in: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* v. 3, 771.

Bibl.: MALAMUT, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin* 499; ADONTZ, *Études* 137-141.

114. Maria (Μαρία)

D Middle period.

B Woman whose name appears on a funerary inscription found in the church of St Nikolaos in the location of Kalamos, north of Mystegna; the inscription was walled in the niche of the sanctuary.

S *IG* 12.2, 446 [= GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil* no. 162 (p. 55)]: + Μνήμη Μαρίας.

Bibl.: TAXIS, *Συνοπτική Ἱστορία* 94; CHARITONIDES, *Βυζαντινὰ ἐκκλησιαί* 72-73 and n. 4; for the remains of the settlement see AXIOTES, *Περπατώντας τη Λέσβο*, v. 1 151-152 and v. 2, table 31; SPENCER, *Gazetteer*, 5; KODER, *Aigaion* 203-204.

115. Michael VII Doukas (Μιχαήλ Δούκας)

D Post 1078

B Byzantine emperor (1071-1078); after a reign troubled by many military revolts, he was finally overthrown by Nikephoros Botaneiates. The latter was proclaimed emperor at Nikaia on 25 March, 1078. On the 31st of that month Michael was forced to abdicate. Botaneiates entered the capital on 3 April, 1078, and was vested with the imperial insignia by the patriarch Kosmas. According to Michael Attaleiates, Michael sought refuge in the church of Theotokos at Blachernai and was thereafter tonsured a monk in the monastery of Stoudios. Owing to the confusion of the sources, his subsequent fate is obscure. At the suggestion of Botaneiates he was appointed metropolitan of Ephesos, an appointment in name only as he must have not ever left Constantinople. Skoutariotes (late 13th c.) is the only source to record that, along with being offered this appointment, Michael was banished to Mytilene by Botaneiates. Even if this is correct, it is highly unlikely that Michael ever set foot on the island as an exilee.

S Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις Χρονική*, ed. SATHAS p. 171.2-5: [Nikephoros Botaneiates] “... τὸν δὲ Μιχαήλ καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἀρχιερέα τῆς μητροπόλεως δείκνυσιν Ἐφέσου καὶ εἰς τὴν Μιτυλήνην ἐξορίζει.”

Related sources: Attaleiates, *History*, ed. PRESLE and BEKKER p. 303.3-23; ed. I. PEREZ MARTIN p. 216-217; and Skylitzes *Continuatus*, ed. TSOLAKES pp. 178-179, 182.

Bibl.: *ODB* 655-656; GRUMEL, *Regestes* III no. 909; POLEMIS, *Doukai* 42-46 (esp. 44 and n. 20); IDEM, *Notes* 69-71.

116. Michael Bouches, metropolitan of Methymna (Μιχαήλ Βουχῆς)

D Mid-12th c.

B Owner of three seals dating from the 12th c. and, in all probability, coming from the same *boulloterion*. As Dr Elena Stepanova informed us, the Hermitage Museum collection includes another unpublished specimen from the same *boulloterion* (no. M-5011). To the same period belongs an unpublished seal bearing the name of Ioannes Bouches (Zacos collection no. 309 in SPINK, *Auction* 132, 70).

The name Βασιώτισσα which is inscribed on the obverse derives from the monastery dedicated to the Theotokos and located in the Constantinopolitan quarter τὰ Βάσσου; see JANIN, *Géographie*, 61-62. For the precise representation and inscription see KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, *Iconography*, 29.

Michael Bouches is most likely identical with Michael metropolitan of Methymna, participant in the synod held on 12 and 13 May 1157 in the palace of Blachernai (see below).

S LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/1 no. 806 = *CBSDO* 52.2: Obv.: Μή(τη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡ [Βα]σι[ώτισσα]; rev.: [Β]ουχῆν Μιχ(αήλ) Μηθύμνης, Ἄγν[ή], σκέποι(ς). For other specimens of the same seal cf. ŠANDROVSKAJA, *Vizantijskie pečati* 82 and pl. 2; LIHAČEV, *Istoričeskoe značenie* 130, fig. 299, table VI, 18.

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 214; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης* 201.

117. Michael father of St Thomaïs (Μιχαήλ)**D** 10th c.**B** Father of St Thomaïs and, according to the hagiographer, a middle-class person; in the introductory paragraphs of her *vita*, he is portrayed as extremely pious and, along with his wife Kale, would go to church many times every day and persevere in vigils and fasting as both he and his wife desired to have a child. Once Thomaïs was born, the family moved from Lesbos to the Bosporos (identified with Chalkedon in the *Laudation* by Konstantinos Akropolites). Soon after his daughter, aged 24, was married to Stephanos, Michael passed away.**S** a) *vita* of St Thomaïs of Lesbos A p. 234: "...ταύτην ὁ φύσας πατήρ, ἀνὴρ θεαρέστως ζῶν καὶ βίον ἔχων ἀγγελικόν,..." and p. 236: "...Λεσβόθεν ἀπάραντες οἱ τῆς ὁσίας γεννήτορες κάκειθεν μετανάσται γεγονότες ..."; Engl. tr.: *Holy Women of Byzantium* 297 ff.b) *vita* of St Thomaïs of Lesbos B, pp. 192–193: "... τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκείνῃ Καλῇ – τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα τῇ μητρὶ – ὥσπερ καὶ Μιχαήλ τῷ πατρὶ ... " (extracts).c) Akropolites, *Laudation of St Thomaïs of Lesbos* 1-3, p. 242: "... ὀνόματα τούτοις Μιχαήλ καὶ Καλὴ τὰ κύρια ... " and "... ὡς γὰρ τῆς Λέσβου ἀπῆραν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀντιπέρασ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου Χαλκηδὸνα..."**Bibl.:** as in *Thomaïs or Thomaë saint*.**118. Michael from Leukopedin (?) (Μιχαήλ)****D** Second half of 12th c.**B** A beneficiary of St Gregorios of Assos' miracles. Contending publicly that the miraculous transformation of the saint's staff into a walnut tree was an act of magic, he had his limbs paralysed. Brought home by his relatives he remained bed-ridden for as long as the saint was alive. Carried then to the saint's tomb he was restored to health.

No reference is made to his place of origin and the text speaks of a crowd of people that was assembled so as to contemplate the miraculous act; yet, it is likely that the man came from the village of Leukopedin in the vicinity of which St Gregorios lived in isolation for twelve years.

S *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Patmos), ed. HALKIN pp. 22-23; ed. SOPHIANOS pp. 337-338; and *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Megiste Lavra) in *ibid.* 315.**119. Michael metropolitan of Mytilene (Μιχαήλ)****D** 8th-9th c.**B** Owner of a seal. Laurent identified this person with his namesake metropolitan, the correspondent of Photios; yet, in agreement with Zacos and Veglery, Nesbitt and Oikonomides dated the seal between the 8th and 9th c.**S** ZACOS and VEGLERY no. 1341 (= LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/3 no. 1779; *CBSDO* 51.6): Obv.: bust of the Virgin Mary standing holding Christ (right arm). Traces of letters form the inscription [Θεοτόκε] βοήθει. Rev: "Μιχ[α]ήλ ἐπισ[κ]όπῳ Μιτ[υ]λίνης."**Bibl.:** *PMBZ* 5055; *PBE*: Michael 101; *FEDALTO*, Hierarchia 216; *MOUTZOURES*, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 188.**120. Michael metropolitan of Mytilene (Μιχαήλ)****D** Mid-9th c.**B** Metropolitan of Mytilene, addressee of three letters by Photios (*Letters* 117, 225, and 227) and one of Photios' followers against the Ignatian party. In the first letter he is praised for his perseverance in defending "our Orthodoxy" (*Letter* 117.10: τῆς ἡμετέρας ὀρθοδοξίας); in the second and the third letter, Photios is more cautious towards the zealous attitude of his correspondent. All letters have been dated to

the period between the two patriarchates of Photios (867-877). Michael has also been considered a participant in the so-called Photian council (879-880), but, judging from Hergenröther's analysis, it is probably Basileios who represented Mytilene in this instance. It cannot be excluded that, when Photios was writing to him, Michael no longer held his office.

Laurent identified this person with the previous Michael (no. 119), owner of a seal, but, in agreement with the dating put forward by Zacos and Vegler, Nesbitt and Oikonomides raised objections to this identification.

S Photios, *Letters* 117, 225, and 227, ed. LAOURDAS and WESTERINK v. 1, 154-155 and v. 2, 136-138: "Μιχαήλ μητροπολίτη Μιτυλήνης."

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μιτυλήνης* 188; HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius*, v. 2 217-218, 455 and n. 40; DVORNIK, *Photian Schism* 149, n. 1.

121. Michael metropolitan of Methymna (Μιχαήλ)

D 1157

B A participant in the synod held on 12 and 13 May 1157 in the palace of Blachernai during the patriarchate of Konstantinos IV Chliarenos (1154-1157). The council condemned the deacon Soterichos Panteugenēs, a candidate for the patriarchal throne of Antioch. Michael signed as "ὁ εὐτελής μητροπολίτης Μεθύμνης Μιχαήλ."

S Niketas Choniates, *Thesaurus* 200D (= I. SAKKELION, *Πατριακή Βιβλιοθήκη*. Athens 1890, 328,23): "ὁ εὐτελής μητροπολίτης Μεθύμνης Μιχαήλ στοιχήσας καὶ ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα."

Bibl.: GRUMEL, *Regestes* III 1041-1043; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης* 200-201; ANGOLD, *Church* 82-84.

122. Michiel Domenico

D Early 1125

B Doge of Venice (1117-1129) who organized a naval expedition in the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean. By these operations he aimed both to increase Venetian influence in Palestine and to take revenge on Ioannes II Komnenos, who was reluctant to confirm the favorable policy of his father towards Venice. As commander of the Venetian fleet, Domenico led a successful expedition against Tyre in Syria in 1122, and on his return in 1124 he first plundered Rhodes and then headed for Chios where he wintered. In the beginning of 1125 he ravaged Lesbos and other islands.

A detailed account of the events is provided in the Venetian Chronicles of Andrea Dandolo and the *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*. Ioannes Kinnamos refers to the same events impersonally and in reverse order, as he places the seizure of Rhodes and Lesbos prior to the capture of Tyre.

S a) Dandolo, *Chronica*, ed. PASTORELLO p. 235: "...dum autem stulus ibi resideret, ipsius pars secedens, Samum, Methelinum, Andrum et alia imperialia loca capit, et postea spolia distribuit."

b) *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* 74: "...inde vero venerunt Chium et ceperunt civitatem ipsam, sederuntque in ea per totam yemem, rerum copiam hinc inde coadunantes. A Chio autem recedentes, Samum, Medolanum, Andrum et alias quam plures civitates ceperunt."

c) Kinnamos, *History* 6.10, ed. MEINEKE p. 281.12-14: "... στόλον οὖν τεκτινόμενοι νεῶν τούτων ἐπῆλθον τῇ γῇ· ὅτε δὴ Χίον τε εἶλον καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Λέσβου νήσων κατέδραμον ὀνομαστών ..."; French tr.: John Kinnamos, *Chronique* 181-182; Engl. tr.: John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* 210-211.

Bibl.: DÖLGER, *Regesten* II 1304, 1356, 1365; CHALANDON, *Comnène*, v. 2 156-158; THIRIET, *Romanie vénitienne* 41; AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer* 232; LILIE, *Crusader States* 97; NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, 77-80; MAGDALINO, *Manuel I Komnenos* 137; PRYOR and JEFFREYS, *ΔΡΟΜΩΝ* 110-111. On the *Chronicle* of Andrea Dandolo see ARNALDI, *Andrea Dandolo*.

123. Michiel Vitale II

D Spring 1172

B Doge of Venice (1156-1172) and commander of the Venetian fleet. In reaction to Manuel I Komnenos' hostile measures against Venetian citizens in Constantinople, he campaigned in the Aegean, much in the way Domenico Michiel had done in the reign of Ioannes II Komnenos. He first attacked Euboia (Nigropum). From this island he sent an embassy to the Byzantine emperor consisting of the magister *Pasquale episcopum equilinum* and Baduano Manassis. Then he sailed to Chios and conquered its town. Expecting the return of his legates, he wintered on the island. While the Venetian fleet was stationing on Chios, an epidemic of plague broke out, which was believed to have been caused by the poisoning of water instrumented by the Byzantine emperor. Under these circumstances, the doge, after receiving an offering of relics and other treasures from the emperor, sailed away from Chios and came to anchor at the island of Sancta Panagia (modern Oinousses). On account of the plague many people had died there. After the emperor refused to have an audience with the legates of the doge and sent them back to him, the latter decided to dispatch a new embassy, this time consisting of Enrico Dandolo and Filippo Greco, but again with no outcome. After that, the doge sailed to Lesbos (Methelinum), then to Lemnos, and finally to Skyros, where he celebrated Easter, but in mourning because of the intensification of the plague. The Venetian fleet returned to Venice reduced by three quarters, a disastrous fact that led to a rebellion and the killing of Vitale Michiel.

This account of the events comes from the Venetian chronicles of Andrea Dandolo and the *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*. A different version of the naval expedition is provided by the historiographers Ioannes Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates. Both refer to the events without mentioning the name of the commander of the Venetian fleet. According to Kinnamos, the Venetian expedition on Euboia failed due to the shrewdness of Manuel I Komnenos, who had previously set garrisons on the island. The Venetians headed for Chios and managed to haul their ships up there. However, while raiding the inland, they came to grips with Byzantine forces that had been installed on the island once again thanks to Manuel's foresight. The latter intended to dispatch a more organized military force against the invaders, but his plan was revealed to them by Aaron, his malicious *akolouthos* (i.e., commander of the Varangian guard). At that time the Byzantine fleet lay in ambush off Cape Malea in the SE Peloponnese, which means that it was a considerable distance from Chios. However, the Venetians, fearing both the army operating on the island and the coming of the fleet, left Chios late in the day. At dawn the Byzantine fleet reached Lesbos and started chasing after them. However, as it was hard to confront the fleeing Venetians in a pitched battle, they only managed to sink many triremes, but the rest of them finally reached their hometown. The account of Niketas Choniates is less detailed and precise as no mention is made of islands other than Euboia and Chios. The Venetians are said to have besieged Euripos (i.e., Chalkis) on Euboia and by the spring of next year to have reached Chios. Upon hearing this, Manuel I sent Andronikos Kontostephanos with 150 triremes. The Venetians sailed away from Chios heading for other islands. The Byzantine commander chased them as far as Cape Malea in the Peloponnese, but he was finally forced to return to the capital.

S a) Dandolo, *Chronica*, ed. PASTORELLO p. 252: "...dux, ob hoc, de pace non credulous, acceptis reliquiis et alliis thesauris, de Chio secessit, et ad insulam sancte Panagie aplicuit, ubi eadem clade plurimi mortui sunt. Imperator, vero, de hiis que exercitui acciderant presciens, ducis legatos audire renuit, et cum eis suum nuncium remissit, qui duci exposuit quam grave quod gestum erat imperatori fuerat; tunc, prudentum consilio, pro optinenda pace, Henricus Dandolo et Phylippus Greco cum illo pariter remittuntur. Postea stulus Methelinum venit, et deinde Staliminum, et denique impelente vento, Schyrum: ibique, invalescente peste, in luctu Pasqualia festa peregit..."

b) *Historia Ducum Veneticorum* 80: "... quapropter Veneti omnes, relinquentes Chium, venerunt ad insulam que Sancta Panachia dicitur; ... dux siquidem, pacis amator, fidem dans verbis nuncii, iterum duos legatos misit, Henricum Dandolum et Phylippum Grecum. Exiens a Sancta Panagia, venit ad insulam Medolini, ibique facto consilio, ad insulam Stalimini voluit ire, ut pasce festum ibi celebraret, sed ventorum vi faciente compulsus est ad Skirum insulam venire et ibi pascha in luctu celebrare et lamentatione prope homines qui cotidie moriebantur..."

c) Kinnamos, *History* 6.10, ed. MEINEKE pp. 283.23-285.1: “... ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐφέροντο Χίον, ἐνταῦθα τε τὰς ναῦς ἀνεγκύσαντες ἐπὶ καταδρομῆς τῆς χώρας ἐξήεσαν. Ἀλλὰ δυνάμεσι κἀνταῦθα περιτυχόντες προμηθεῖα βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον διαβάσαις ... ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καταπολεμηθέντες Ῥωμαίων ὡς τῷ πλείονι τοῦ αὐτῶν ἐζημιῶσθαι στρατοῦ, τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸν στόλον ἰέναι πυθόμενοι, λύσαντες τῆς ἡμέρας ὅψ’ ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀπέλιπον. Ὁρθρου δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στόλος ἐπὶ Λέσβον ἦλθεν, ἐπειδὴ τε τὸ γεγονὸς ἤκουσεν, ὀπίσω ἐδίωκεν. Ἀλλὰ σταδαῖα μὲν μάχῃ τὸ πᾶν διακρίναι οὐπω ἐδυνήθη, φευγόντων αἰεὶ προτροπάδην τῶν πολεμίων ...”; French tr.: John Kinnamos, *Chronique* 183-184; Engl. tr.: John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* 212-213.

Related source: Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. VAN DIETEN pp. 173-174 (= Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio* 392-396).

Bibl.: DÖLGER, *Regesten* 1509-1512; CHALANDON, *Comnène* v. 2 590-592; ANGOLD, *Empire* 200-202; NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice* 97-100; THIRIET, *Romanie vénitienne* 51-52; STONE, *Manuel I and the Venetians*; MADDEN, *Enrico Dandolo*, 50-56; PRYOR and JEFFREYS, *ΔΡΟΜΩΝ* 116.

124. Neilos (?) metropolitan of Mytilene (or Elias or David)

D First half of 11th c.

B Metropolitan of Mytilene appearing on a seal with a crack on its reverse; instead of Neilos, which is a suggestion by Nesbitt–Oikonomides, the name of Elias was proposed by Laurent. It is true that with the name Neilos it is possible to obtain a correct twelve-syllable verse, but, if the correct reading is IHL, the name Ioel would be another plausible solution. In his review of CBSDO, Seibt wonders whether the name imprinted was David.

As in a number of other seals owned by metropolitans of Mytilene, the bust of St Theodora appears on the obverse.

S LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/3 no. 1780 [= *CBSDO* 51.9, 144]: Obv.: *Hosia Theodora*. Rev.: “Θ(εοτό)[κ]ε βοήθ(ει) Νήλ(ω) μιτροπολίτ(η) το Μιτηλίνης.”

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216 (inserted as Elias); MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 190 (inserted as Elias); SEIBT, *Review* 464.

125. Nikephoros megas kourator (Νικηφόρος)

D Late 11th c., between 1070 and 1080

B *Megas kourator* of Mytilene.

Though Zacos dated the seal to the first half of the 11th c., Dr. Wassiliou suggested to us that the seal is of a later date.

S ZACOS, *Seals* no. 252 (p. 158): Obv.: “Νικηφόρος.” Rev.: “μέγας κουράτωρ Μ(υ)τ(ι)λήνης.”

Bibl.: LOUIZIDIS, *Κουράτορας* 35; on *kouratores* see *ODB* 1155-1156; KAPLAN, *Maisons impériales* 355-358; IDEM, *Les hommes et la terre* 313-319; CHEYNET, *Épiskepitai* 91-92.

126. Niketas metropolitan of Mytilene (Νικήτας)

D Before April 1089, end of 1094-early 1095

B His name is first attested in a synodic *semeioma*, dated 20 April 1089 and addressed by the patriarch Nikolaos III Grammatikos (1084-1111) to the metropolitan of Athens, also called Niketas. This note came in response to the protest of the prelate of Athens against his predecessor Ioannes who, acting against the interests of his see, had granted the exploitation of some monasteries and estates to the *dynatoi* and other laymen of the region. To support his request to have all these privileges restored to his see, the metropolitan of Athens referred to the synodic *semeiomata* which were sent off after requests of the metropolitans of Crete Ioannes and of Mytilene Niketas, who had suffered from similar problems that had come up in their dioceses. A few months later, in September 1089, he must have participated in the synod convened under the presidency of the emperor Alexios I that restored recognition to pope Urban II.

Niketas was also a participant in a synod held towards the end of 1094 or in early 1095 and summoned by the same emperor and the patriarchs Nikolaos III Grammatikos of Constantinople (1084-1111) and Symeon of Jerusalem (ca. 1092-1097) in the palace of Blachernai. Discussing the accusations brought forward by Leon, metropolitan of Chalkedon, the synod tried to clearly define the notion of the veneration of icons. Dated by Grumel to the second half of 1092, the synod was convincingly dated by GAUTIER, *Synode des Blachernes*, 280-284, to the end of 1094 or early 1095.

- S** a) USPENSKIJ, *Mnenija i postanovlenija* 40 (with Russian tr.): "...ἐπεὶ συνοδικὰ σημειώματα πρὸ καιροῦ τινος ἐκτέθειντο ἐξ ἀναφορᾶς τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων μητροπολιτῶν τοῦ τε Κρήτης Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ Μιτυλήνης Νικήτα περί τινων ἀναγκαίων ὑποθέσεων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησιῶν..."
 b) HOLTZMANN, *Unionsverhandlungen*, 61: "...τὸν Μιτυλήνης..."
 c) Alexios I Komnenos, *Τὸ σημείωμα* 104 [= MANSI XX 1105B and *PG* 127 col 973C]; latest ed. in GAUTIER, *Synode des Blachernes*, 219: "... Νικήτα Μιτυλήνης ..."
Bibl.: DÖLGER, *Regesten* 1153a; FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μιτυλήνης* 190-191; GRUMEL, *Regestes* 951-952; GAUTIER, *Synode des Blachernes* 267; GLAVINAS, *Ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου ἐρις* 185.

127. Nikolaos metropolitan of Methymna (Νικόλαος)

- D** 6 May 1166-July 1167
B He participated in a council that was held in Constantinople during the patriarchate of Loukas Chrysoberges (1157-1169/1170). The council treated the controversy over the relationship between the Son and the Father within the Holy Trinity. In a session when all prelates expressed their views on the matter, Nikolaos said that, although he first sided with Konstantinos, the metropolitan of Kerkyra, he then changed his mind and agreed with the views of the patriarch. He signed as "ὁ εὐτελής μητροπολίτης Μηθύμνης Νικόλαος."
S Niketas Choniates, *Thesaurus* 237B and 256A: "... τοῦ Μηθύμνης Νικολάου ... "; *ibid.* 244D: "... ὁ Μηθύμνης εἶπε μὲν στοιχεῖν τῇ τοῦ Κερκύρων γνώμῃ· ἀκροασάμενος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν πατριαρχικῶν γνωμῶν, μεταβαλὼν εἶπε ἀφίστασθαι μὲν τῆς τοῦ Κερκύρων γνώμης, στοιχεῖν δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἀγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν."; *ibid.* 260C: "ὁ εὐτελής μητροπολίτης Μηθύμνης Νικόλαος ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα" and 281A: "ὁ εὐτελής μητροπολίτης Μηθύμνης Νικόλαος."
Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 214; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης* 201; GRUMEL, *Regestes* 1075; CHALANDON, *Comnène* v. 2 648-649; CLASSEN, *Konzil von Konstantinopel* 1166 339-368.

128. Nikolaos the Stoudite, saint (Νικόλαος Στουδίτης)

- D** 858
B A saint; born to humble parents in Kydoniai (modern Chania) on Crete in 793-794, he was sent to Constantinople at the age of ten (i. e. in 803) to meet his paternal uncle Theophanes who was a monk in the monastery of Stoudios. His own tonsure occurred when he reached manhood; he was distinguished for his skills as a calligrapher. After the restoration of Iconoclasm by Leon V, he followed his famous abbot Theodoros the Stoudite to his various places of exile, namely the fort of Metopa in Bithynia, the fort of Bonita in the theme of Anatolikon, and Smyrne. After Michael II came to power, Theodoros and Nikolaos were among those recalled from exile. When Theodoros died in 826 and was buried on the island of Prinkipo, Nikolaos came to live near his tomb. The persecution resumed by the emperor Theophilos prevented him from returning to Constantinople and made him travel from place to place. After the restoration of icons (843), he settled on a property outside the capital called Phirmoupolis granted to him by Eirene, a pious lady. In 846, after the death of Naukratios, he was unanimously elected abbot of the monastery of Stoudios, but, in 849, he retired again to Phirmoupolis, appointing Sophronios as his successor. Nonetheless, he was again proclaimed abbot after the latter died in 853. In 858, following the expulsion of Ignatios from the patriarchal see (858), he departed from his monastery and together with his brother Titos, retired to Prainetos. For all the entreaties of the emperor and the *kaisar* Bardas to resume the abbacy of his monastery, Nikolaos travelled again widely until he fell ill and received the care of his disciple Euaristos. Once again, he embraced the life of an itinerant, refusing any reconciliation with the

Photian party. Among the places of self-exile were Prokonnesos, Mytilene, where he lived for a fairly long time, and then Chersonesos. After spending seven hard years there, he was called back to the monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople by the *kaisar* Bardas and put under custody for two years. He was set free and re-nominated abbot only after the accession of Basileios I to the throne (867). Shortly thereafter he died, naming Klemes as his successor upon his death-bed.

Chronologically speaking, Nikolaos' exile on Lesbos preceded that of the patriarch Ignatios by almost a year. Of course, as his biography presents it, it was a voluntary rather than a forced exile.

The only extant *vita* was written by a Stoudite monk in the early 10th century. Further information about Nikolaos' life is provided by the *vita* of another Stoudite monk, Euaristos (*BHG* 2135). This text offers a different version of the events following Nikolaos' last period of exile. Yet any mention of Mytilene is lacking.

- S** *Anonymous Life of St Nikolaos Stoudites* (*BHG* 1365), in: *PG* 105 cols 863-926, here col 912A-B: “... φυγάς ἀπαίρει πρὸς τὴν Πρυκόννησον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς Μιτυλήνην ἀπώχετο· ἐφ’ ἱκανὸν δὲ ταύτῃ προσδιατρίψας ἀνήκται πρὸς τὴν Χερρόνησον ...”

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 5576; *PBE*: Nikolaos 26; *ODB* 1471; DVORNIK, Photian Schism 61-65; MALAMUT, Route des saints 170 and 252; APOSTOLOPOULOU, Νικόλαος Στουδίτης 525-542 (esp. 541).

129. Nisiris (Νίσιρις, Nasr, Nasir)

D Ca. 850

B Commander of the Arab fleet that invaded Lesbos and captured St Theoktiste, among others, in a village near Methymna. Captives were led to the island of Paros to be sold as slaves. Nisiris is also reported to have tried to detach the ciborium of the church of Katapoliane on Paros and carry it to a mosque on Crete, but, divinely prevented from doing so, he broke it. Finally he suffered a shipwreck off the cape Xylophagos at Euboea (Kaphereus) and was drowned (γένονεν ὑποβρύχιος).

His name is attested only in the *vita* of Theoktiste of Lesbos. He has been considered the admiral of the Arab Cretans (CHRISTIDES, Conquest of Crete, 167).

- S** a) Niketas Magistros, *Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos* 15 p. 229: text as in *Theoktiste of Lesbos saint* [cf. 227 (§§ 8-9)]; Engl. tr.: Holy Women of Byzantium 107 and 110-111.
b) Symeon Metaphrastes, *Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos* 13 p. 29: text as in *Theoktiste of Lesbos saint*. [cf. also pp. 23-24 (§§ 7-8)].
c) SynaxCP 205: text as in *Theoktiste of Lesbos saint*.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 5632; MILES, Byzantium and the Arabs 8; EICKHOFF, Seekrieg und Seepolitik 207-210; CHRISTIDES, Raids 95; IDEM, Conquest of Crete 163 and 167; KAZHDAN, Notes 181; TSOUGARAKIS, Byzantine Crete 45 and n. 89.

130. Philaretos archbishop of Methymna (Φιλάρετος)

D Mid-11th c.

B Owner of a seal.

S LAURENT, Corpus, V/1 no. 833 (p. 647-648): Obv.: [Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Φιλαρέτ(ω)]. Rev.: [ἀρχιε]πισκόπῳ Μ(η)θύμνης.

Bibl.: FEDALTO, Hierarchia 214; MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης 200.

131. Phokas Leon (Φωκᾶς Λέων)

D 969-971

B Brother of the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) and son of Bardas Phokas. As a *strategos* of Cappadocia and then Anatolikon he won many victories against the Arabs in the late 940s and 950s. Romanos II promoted him to the office of *domestikos* of the West and engaged him in a number of military missions. During the reign of his brother he obtained the dignities of *kouropalates* and *logothetes*

tou dromou, but was much reproached for acquiring great wealth. After the assassination of his brother and the coming of Ioannes Tzimiskes to power, he was exiled to Methymna along with his son Nikephoros. His other son Bardas was exiled to Amaseia in the Pontos. Before they were exiled, Tzimiskes guaranteed that they would not suffer any physical punishment. Both father and son remained on the island during the years 969-971. In 970, when his son Bardas escaped from his place of exile and organized a coup against Tzimiskes, Leon tried to regain power by promising, through the bishop of Abydos Stephanos, to offer money and offices to those who would give him support to overthrow the usurper of his brother's throne. The latter, however, was informed of the rebellion and put the bishop of Abydos and the two Phokas family members on trial. Demonstrating a humane behavior, he did not execute them, as the judges' verdict dictated, but only sent someone to blind them both. However, as it turned out, the man entrusted with this mission, acting either according to the emperor's secret request or out of pity, burned only their eyelashes, leaving their pupils intact. In 971, encouraged by this fact, Leon bribed his guards and proceeded to a coup. Embarking on a ship he came to hide in a location opposite Constantinople, more precisely in a monastery called Pelamys. From there he secretly communicated with other plotters and managed to penetrate the capital. Nonetheless, their plans were finally revealed. Leon and his son Nikephoros were arrested, put on a boat, and confined to the island of Kalonymos. Tzimiskes, who was then in Bulgaria, ordered that they be blinded and have their fortune confiscated.

- S** a) Leon the Deacon, *Historia* 6.2, ed. HASE p. 96.2-6: "...πίστεις τε τῷ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Νικηφόρου ὁμαῖμονι Λέοντι τῷ Κουροπαλάτῃ καὶ Νικηφόρῳ Πατρικίῳ, τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ τοιοῦτου Λέοντος περὶ τῶν σφῶν σωματίων ἀπαθείας δούς, ἐς Μήθυμναν, τὴν ἐν Λέσβῳ τῇ νήσῳ κατωκισμένην περιορίζει ..."; also 7.1, *ibid.* pp. 113.23-114.6: "... συνεκρότει δὲ τὴν ἀποστασίαν καὶ Λέων Κουροπαλάτης, ὁ τοῦ Βάρδα τοκεύς, ἐς μὲν τὴν νήσον Λέσβον φρουρούμενος διὰ Στεφάνου δὲ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀβύδου, τοῖς Μακεδόσι χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ δέχεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀναγόμενον προτρεπόμενος καὶ συνεπιτίθεσθαι καὶ συνεργάζεσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου τῶν ἀνακτορίων καθαίρεσιν."; and 7.2, *ibid.* p. 114.12-16: "... Λέοντα δὲ τὸν Κουροπαλάτην καὶ Νικηφόρον τὸν τούτου υἱὸν τῇ τοῦ θανάτου ὑπαγαγόντων ψήφῳ τῶν δικαστῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ φιλανθρωπότερον ἀποκλίνας οὐκ ἔκτεινε· τὰς δὲ ὄψεις ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ τὴν Λέσβον στείλας, ἐπήρωσε ..."; 9.3, *ibid.* p. 145.10-22: "... Λέων Κουροπαλάτης ὁ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Νικηφόρου ὁμαῖμων, ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ Λέσβον Μήθυμναν ἅμα Νικηφόρῳ τῷ υἱῷ φρουρούμενος, ὡς μοι ἤδη δεδήλωται, χρυσῷ τοὺς φρουροὺς διαφθείρας, ἐς ἀποστασίαν ἀπέκλινεν, ἀσινεῖς ἔχων τὰς κόρας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν... Τότε γοῦν εἰς ἀκάτιον ὁ κουροπαλάτης ἐμβάς, τῇ κατ' ἀντιπέρας Βυζαντίου χθονὶ λεληθότως προσώρμισεν ..."; Engl. tr.: TALBOT and SULLIVAN, *The History of Leo the Deacon* 145, 163-164 and 189.

b) Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. THURN p. 284.11-13: "... Λέοντα μὲν τὸν κουροπαλάτην ἐν Λέσβῳ περιορίσας καὶ Νικηφόρον βέστην τὸν τούτου υἱὸν ἐν τῇ Ἰμβρῳ,..." and p. 292.16-31: "... ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου διαπερᾶν λάθρᾳ σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Νικηφόρῳ εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκην χωρία..." (extracts); French tr.: Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs* 239 and 245.

c) Zonaras, *Epitome Historion* 17.1.2-3, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST p. 520.5-8: "...καὶ ὃς τοὺς τῷ Νικηφόρῳ προσήκοντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλως εὖνοιαν ἐκείνῳ τηρεῖν ὑποπτευομένους ἐκ μέσου πεποίηκε, τὸν μὲν κουροπαλάτην Λέοντα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Νικηφόρον ἐν Λέσβῳ περιορίσας ..."; 17.2.3-4, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST p. 525.8-11: "... καὶ ὁ πατὴρ δὲ τούτου ὁ Λέων πρὸς Θράκην ἐβουλεύσατο διαβῆναι, ἔχων συμπράττοντα οἱ καὶ τὸν Ἀβύδου ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ..."; German tr.: Zonaras, *Chronik* 31 and 34.

Bibl.: ODB 1667-1668; DÖLGER, *Regesten* 727 and 736; WARTENBERG, *Geschichtswerk des Leon Diakonos* 109-110; LAMPSIDES, *Ἡ ποινὴ τῆς τυφλώσεως* 45-47; KAZHDAN, *Armiane* 72-74 (no. 19); DJURIĆ, *Porodica* 273-275; BOURAS, *The Reliquary Cross* 179-187; J.-C. CHEYNET in: DAGRON and MIHAESCU, *Traité* 301-306; IDEM, *Pouvoir* 25-26 and n. 5, 328-329; KODER, *Aigaion* 229.

132. Phokas Nikephoros (Φωκᾶς Νικηφόρος)

D 969-971

B Son of Leon Phokas. Along with his father he was exiled to Lesbos by Ioannes Tzimiskes. According to Skylitzes, he bore the office of *vestes* and was exiled not to Lesbos but to Imbros.

For all other details, see *Phokas Leon* above.

S as in *Phokas Leon*.

Bibl.: as in *Phokas Leon*.

133. Pothos Haplesphares metropolitan of Mytilene (Πόθος Ἀπλησφάρης)

D May 1180 or 1195

B He made an agreement with Manuel Xeros by virtue of which the latter and his son Leon Komnenos were given the management (*charistike*) of the monastery of Hagios Menas at Kato Ptomaia (-oi) on Lesbos. In return, Xeros had to pay twenty *trikephala nomismata* annually: the first ten were to be received by the metropolitan see of Mytilene and the other ten by the metropolitan's brother-in-law Ioannes Serbes.

He is probably identical with the following Pothos. The hypothesis is further supported by the identification of Manuel Xeros with the official of Manuel I Komnenos mentioned by Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. VAN DIETEN pp. 196-197. That being so, the agreement is more likely to date from May 1180 than May 1190.

The name Haplesphares appears in sources from the 11th through the 14th c. It was known in the region of Smyrne and was of Arabic origin.

S *PRK* I 490 act no. 83 (= *MM* I 122) and *PRK* I 498, act no. 86 (= *MM* I 125): text as in *Komnenos Leon*.

Bibl.: MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 192; IDEM, Τὰ χαριστικά 538-543, 566-569; KAZHDAN, *Sostav* 176; KAZHDAN and RONCHEY, *L'aristocrazia* 292, 296 (on the family name); AHRWEILER, *Smyrne* 160, 168, 172; STAVRAKOS, *Sceaux inédits* 511-514; WASSILIOU and SEIBT, *Bleisiegel* 69-70 (no. 42).

134. Pothos metropolitan of Mytilene (Πόθος)

D 1166-1167, 24 March 1173

B He participated in the council of 1166-1167 held in Constantinople during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos and the patriarchate of Loukas Chrysoberges (1157-1169/1170). The council treated the controversy centered around the words of Jesus Christ: "my Father is greater than I" (John 14,28), i. e., the relationship between the Son and the Father within the Holy Trinity. In a session of the council Pothos quoted St Paul's epistle to the Philippians (2,7). He signed as "ὁ εὐτελής μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης Πόθος ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα."

He also appears as a signatory of a *Tomos* dating from 24 March 1173, i.e., from the patriarchate of Michael III of Anchialos (1170-1178). The *Tomos* decreed that all ecclesiastical prelates should take an oath of fidelity to the emperor and his descendants.

He is likely to have been identical to the owner of a seal first published by Laurent and dated to the second half of the 12th c. Also to Pothos Haplesphares, metropolitan of Mytilene, attested in two patriarchal documents (see previous entry).

S a) Niketas Choniates, *Thesaurus* 237B and 256A: "... τοῦ Μιτυλήνης Πόθου ..."; ibid. 241B-C: "... ὁ Μιτυλήνης ἔφη ὅτι, ἐπεὶ εὐρίσκω τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόστολον λέγοντα ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν ἀκενώτως μορφήν δούλου λαβὼν, λέγω εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωτῆρα μείζονα κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ἥτοι τὴν συγκατάβασιν καὶ τὴν κένωσιν, καθὼς ὁ μέγας Γρηγόριος διδάσκει με, Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Κύριλλος, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Ἀθανάσιος· ἦγουν κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ φύσιν τὴν βαδίσασαν καὶ κοπιάσασαν."; ibid. 260B: "ὁ εὐτελής μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης Πόθος ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα." and 269B and 276C: "... τοῦ Μιτυλήνης ..."

b) Michael of Anchialos, *Τόμος*, ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS p. 109.16: "... Πόθου Μιτυλήνης ..." [the edition was based on MSS *Cairensis* 911 (*deinde Alexandrinus* 288) and *Kosinitza* 1]; previous ed. by PAVLOV p. 391 [based on *Mosquensis Synod. Bibl.* 33; instead of Πόθου the name Πέτρου is printed, but checking of the MS (f. 89^v) revealed this to be a transcription error.]

c) LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/3 no. 1781 (p. 128) [= *CBSDO* 51.10 (p. 144)]; Obv.: the image of the Theotokos. Rev.: Πόθου σφράγισμα Μιτυλήνης ποιμένος.

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 191; CHALANDON, *Comnène*, v. 2 648-649; LEBEDEVA, *Bleisiegel* 392-395; GRUMEL, *Regestes* 1075 and 1120; CLASSEN, *Konzil von Konstantinopel* 1166.

135. Prokopios (Προκόπιος)

D Last quarter of the 8th c.

B A physician who healed St Symeon the Stylite when the latter was suffering in his liver from the unbearable cold; with a sharpened sword, he made an incision, inflicting pain. Once he showed the bloodied sword, he suddenly disappeared; Symeon's unwholesome blood drained out suddenly through his nostrils. To this strange cure his brother Georgios bore witness.

Note that the English translator of the *vita* considers that the cure referred to Georgios and not to Symeon (p. 168-169); however, a careful reading of the passage does not allow for this interpretation (see also entry in *PMBZ*). Also, on account of his immediate disappearance, Prokopios is unjustifiably considered by D. ABRAHAMSE (in: *Defenders of Images* 168, n. 129) as a healer saint appearing in a vision rather than a real person.

S *ADSG* 221.20-25 (§ 11); ed. PHOUNTOULIS p. 25.8-16 (§ 11): "...καὶ ὁρᾷ διὰ τῆς θυρίδος ὡσεὶ ἄνδρα Προκόπιον τοῦνομα ἀκέστορα τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἔχοντα τῇ χειρὶ τεθηγμένον τὸ ξίφος· ὃς καὶ τομὴν αὐτῷ δούς ὀδύνην τε ἐμποίησας ἡμαγμένον τε ἐπιδείξας τὸ ξίφος, ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο. Κατανοῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ θαυμάσιος πληγὴν μὲν εὗρεν οὐδαμῶς, διὰ δὲ τῶν μυκτῆρων αὐτοῦ ἀθρόως αἷμα κενωθὲν νοσωδέστατον, τοῦ ἐνοχλοῦντος ὁ μακάριος ἀπηλλάττετο ..."; Engl. tr.: *Defenders of Images* 168-169.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 6362; *PBE*: Prokopios 11; KARLIN-HAYTER, Notes 336.

136. Saewulf (Saewulfus)

D 1102 and 1103

B Anglo-Saxon traveller to the newly established crusader states in the Holy Land; he stationed in Mytilene twice: first on his way to Palestine, then on his way back to Constantinople.

S Saewulf ed. HUYGENS pp. 60 (v. 39-42) and 76-77 (v. 601-607): "Inde venimus Tino, postea Suram, deinde Miconiam sicque Naxiam, in cuius latere est Creta memorabilis insula, inde Caream et Omargon et Samo et Scion et Metelina. Postea venimus Pathmos, ..." and "Deinde venimus ad insulam Samo ibique comparatis victui necessariis sicut et in omnibus insulis, appulimus ad insulam Scion. Ibidem navi nostra cum sociis amissa iter Constantinopolitanum orandi causa intravimus. Postea transvimus per urbem magnam Smirnam et venimus ad insulam Metelinam, deinde Tenit, ibique in partibus Romaniae fuit antiquissima et famosissima civitas Troia ..."

Bibl.: *ODB* 1827; TOMASCHEK, *Topographie von Kleinasien* 19 and 27; BEAZLYE, *Modern Geography*, v. 2 139-155; DIMITROUKAS, *Reisen* 485-486.

137. Serbes Klausenos Ioannes (Σερβῆς Κλαυσηνὸς Ἰωάννης)

D May 1180 or 1195, February 1192 or 1207

B The brother-in-law of the metropolitan of Mytilene Pothos Haplesphares. According to the agreement made between the latter and Manuel Xeros, Serbes' house was to receive ten *trikephala nomismata* every year. This payment was partly in exchange for the concession of the management of the monastery of Hagios Menas of Kato Ptomaia (or -oi) to Manuel Xeros and his son Leon Komnenos. The *nomismata* were to be paid by the man who managed the estates of Xeros on the island. As a warranty, Serbes was given a *sigillion* signed by Xeros and certified with a lead seal. With a new *sigillion* that Leon Komnenos signed after his father's death it was confirmed that Serbes should receive the aforementioned amount of money.

Apart from being the brother-in-law of the metropolitan, Serbes is also styled as *proedros* and "our man," i.e., Xeros' man. Note that as an imperial title *proedros* is attested until the year 1132; in this case it must have a far more modest and local significance, perhaps denoting a landowner of some kind.

S *PRK* I 490, act no. 83 (= *MM* I 122) and *PRK* I 498, act no. 86 (= *MM* I 125); text as in *Komnenos Leon*.

Bibl.: *ODB* 1727 (on *proedros* as a civilian dignity); OIKONOMIDES, St. George of Mangana 244 (on *proedros* as provincial gentry); MOUTZOURES, Τὰ χαριστικά 538-543, 566-569; ANGOLD, Church 337-338.

138. Sisinnios bishop of Mytilene (Σισίννιος)

D 691/2

B One of 225 bishops who participated in and signed the proceedings of the Trullanum council. He was also the owner of a seal now belonging to the private collection of Dr D. Theodorides (Munich).

S a) MANSI XI 992C: “Σισίννιος ἐλάχιστος ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως Μιτυλήνης ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα” or “Σισίννιος ἐλάχιστος ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως Μιτυλήνης τῆς Λεσβίων νήσου.”

b) WASSILIOU, Neue Metropoliten no. 1 (p. 113-114): Obv.: “Σισιννίου”; Rev.: “ἐπισκόπου Μιτυλήνης.”

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 6719 and Addenda; *PBE*: Sisinnios 10; FEDALTO, Hierarchia 215; OHME, Quinisexum 151 (no. 45) and 306; MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μιτυλήνης 186; KODER, Aigaion 209-213, 230-234.

139. Skleraina Maria (Σκλήραινα Μαρία)

D 1034/1035-1042

B Mistress of Konstantinos IX Monomachos and first cousin of his second wife. She followed him in his exile to Lesbos, which was ordered by Michael IV the Paphlagonian. The exile lasted for seven years, from 1034 to 1042. Psellos and Zonaras report that her support also extended to financial matters, no doubt thanks to her family's resources. Despite her companion's recall to Constantinople, she had to remain on the island for a while. She returned to the capital in the first months of the reign of Konstantinos Monomachos, following Zoe's assent. Later on, she was honored with the title of *sebeste*, allowed to settle in the palace, and assigned the management of the charitable institution of St Georgios of Mangana. She died between March 1044 and May 1046.

The aristocratic family of Skleroi was of Armenian origin; as a last name it can be traced as far back as 805. Maria was the sister of Romanos Skleros and a relative of Basileios Skleros, the grandson of Bardas Skleros who rebelled against Basileios II. Both Maria and Romanos were benefactors of St Lazaros' monastery on Mt Galesion (see §§ 87 and 245). Identified as the *protospatharissa* mentioned in the *Peira* of Eustathios Romaios, she is likely to have been the widow of a *protospatharios*. As documented by a seal dating from 1070 to 1090, a member of her family, Leon Skleros, was to become *magistros*, *vestes*, *bestarches*, and *krites* of the Aigaion (STAVRAKOS, Bleisiegel no. 236, pp. 356-357).

S a) Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 6.51.1-7: “Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἔρωτος ἀλλήλοις ἀνεκεράσθησαν, ὥς μηδένα θατέρου μέρους ἐστερήσθαι βούλεσθαι, μηδ' ἐν οἷς κακοδαιμονεῖν ἐδόκουν καιροῖς· καὶ ὑπερορίῳ γὰρ γεγονότι τῷδε τῷ βασιλεῖ, ...συμπάρῃν ἢ γυνή, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπερθεραπεύουσα καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς προτιθεῖσα ἐκείνῳ, καὶ πάντα τρόπον παραμυθουμένη τοῦτον καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς τὸ πλεῖστον ἀποφορτίζουσα...”; cf. *ibid.* 6.17.5-10 (text as in *Konstantinos IX Monomachos*)

b) Zonaras, *Epitome Historion* 17.21.13-17, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST pp. 618.17-619.15: “... διὸ καὶ ὑπερορίαν ... καταδικασθέντι τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ κἀκεῖνη τῶν πάντων ἑαυτὴν ὑπερώρισεν, ἵν' ὀρώη τὸν ἐρώντά τε καὶ ἐρώμενον καὶ μὴ εἶη αὐτοῦ ὑπερόριος ... ὃ τε γὰρ χρόνος παρήνεγκεν αὐτῇ τὸ ζηλότυπον, ἥδη τυγχανούση παρήλικι, καὶ οἱ συμβεβηκότες αὐτῇ πειρασμοὶ μετριωτέραν εἰργάσαντο. Ἀνάγεται τοίνυν ἐκ Μιτυλήνης ἢ Σκλήραινα, καὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς αὐτῇ περιφανὴς κατοικία ἡτοίμαστο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θεραπεία ἀβρά...” (extracts); German tr.: Zonaras, *Chronik* 91-92.

Related source: Michael Psellos, *Poem* 17, vv. 239-252, ed. WESTERINK.

Bibl.: DÖLGER, Regesten 854; *ODB* 1911; SEIBT, Skleroi 71-76; SPADARO, Note su Sclerena 351-72; EADEM, in Mariam Sclerenam 20-21; OIKONOMIDES, St. George of Mangana; MORRIS, Monks and Laymen 104-105; KODER, Aigaion 230; *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion* 177-178 and 347-348; HONDRIDOU, Κωνσταντῖνος Μονομάχος 44-52 and 79-91.

140. Staurakios (Σταυράκιος)**D** Middle period?**B** Patron of the church of St Georgios in the village of Antissa (previously called Telonia). His name appears on an inscription.**S** *PMBZ* 6898; *CIG*, IV no. 8900: “in campo infra vicum *Telonia* in sacello S. Georgii” [= GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil* no. 157 (p. 55)]: “+ Ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἁγίου [Γ]εωργίου δὼς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν [μ]νημονεύουσιν τὴν χάριν τ[ο]ῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, καὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν Σταυρ[α]κίου. Γένυτο κ(ύρι)ε. Ἀμήν.”**Bibl.:** KIOURTZIAN, *Pietas* 377.**141. Stephanos husband of St Thomaïs (Στέφανος)****D** 10th c.**B** Husband of St Thomaïs; apart from the anonymous *vita-BHG* 2454, all three works of hagiography devoted to the saint claim that their marriage occurred before the family of Thomaïs departed from Lesbos. Stephanos, therefore, can be regarded as a local inhabitant of the island. All texts focus on his coarse and brutal character that made his wife suffer both domestic violence and a “worldly” martyrdom. The only concrete information about him is provided by the *vita-BHG* 2454, the oldest piece in St Thomaïs’ hagiographical dossier; it reports that he earned his living by seafaring and that he belonged to the middle class [*AASS* Nov. IV 239 (§ 15): “τῇ ναυτιλίᾳ προστετηκότες κάκειθεν τὰ πρὸς τροφήν ποριζομένου καὶ τῆς μέσης τύχης ἐπαπολαύοντος ...”].**S** a) *vita* of St Thomaïs of Lesbos B 4-7, ed. HALKIN pp. 198-209: “... καὶ ἡ κατὰ νόμους συζυγία ἀνόμω θελήματι συνεστεφάνου τὸν Στέφανον... ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἦν οὐ ἐπιεικὴς οὐδὲ ἡμερος, ἀλλ’ ὕβριστής ὁ Στέφανος καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ θηριώδης τὴν γνώμην καὶ βάρβαρος ...” (extracts).b) *Akropolites, Laudation of St Thomaïs of Lesbos* 2-5, 11, pp. 242-245: “... κατὰλληλον ὡς ὦθήσαν τὸν νυμφίον οἱ γεγεννηκότες εὐρηκότες συνάπτουσιν...”c) *vita* of St Thomaïs of Lesbos-in-verse, ed. PHOUNTOULIS p. 9: “...ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πέφθακε τὴν ὥραν γάμου // ἄκουσαν ὑπέξευξαν αὐτὴν νυμφίῳ // πεισθεῖσαν ὡς χρὴ τοῖς τοκεῦσιν ἔθος ... // κὰν τῷ Στεφάνῳ παντελῶς ἐναντία // ὦντο ταῦτα, φεῦ μιᾶς καρδίας...”**Bibl.:** as in *Thomaïs or Thomaë saint*.**142. Stephanos metropolitan of Mytilene (Στέφανος)****D** Second half of the 12th c.**B** Owner of a seal. On the obverse the figure of Hosia Theodora is depicted, a saint also depicted on the contemporary seal of Konstantinos metropolitan of Mytilene.Laurent dated the seal to the 11th-12th c., but Dr. Wassiliou proposed to us the second half of the 12th c.**S** LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/1, no. 754 (p. 576-577): Obv.: “Ἡ ὁσία Θεοδώρα.” Rev.: “Σφραγὶς Στεφάνου ποιμένου Μιτυλήνης.”**Bibl.:** FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης*, 191.**143. Symeon patrikios protoanthypatos, vestitor, and kourator (Συμεών)****D** Mid-11th c.**B** *Patrikios*, *anthypatos*, *vestes*, *krites*, and *kourator* of Mytilene; owner of a seal.**S** *CBSDO* 51.5 (p. 142): Obv.: Two standing figures in profile raising their hands; the one to the left is beardless, the one to the right is bearded; along the right margin a vertical inscription Συμεόν. Nesbitt and Oikonomides suspect that they represent St Symeon the archbishop of Persia and his fellow martyr, the

eunuch and *praepositus* of the palace Gousthazat. Rev.: Συμεὼ[ν] π(ατ)ρι(κίω) ἀνθυ[π(άτω)], βέστη, <κ>ρι[τῇ] καὶ κουρά[τ(ορι)] Μιτυλήνης.

Seibt read the inscription ΘΕΟ along the left margin and opted for the name Theodore or Theodoulos.

A parallel piece was published by DUNN, A Handlist, no. 35 (p. 8): On the obverse: two saints standing in profile, left St. Theodoros, right illegible, in episcopal dress, facing inwards hands raised to the mandorla of Christ.

Bibl.: SEIBT, Review 464; LOUIZIDIS, Κουράτορας 35; on *kouratores* see *ODB* 1155-1156; KAPLAN, Maisons impériales 355-358; IDEM, Les hommes et la terre 313-319; CHEYNET, Épiskeptai 91-92.

144. Symeon the stylite, saint (Συμεών)

D 764/5-844

B One of the three sanctified brothers of Lesbos, the last child of Hadrianos and Konstanto; his biography occupies the best part of the *ADSG* and can be divided into two major parts: the years he spent on Lesbos (764/5-early 820s) and those off the island (early 820s-843), either as an exile or involved in the negotiations regarding the restoration of icons by the empress Theodora. The hagiographer picks up his biography proper when Symeon was eight years old, at the point when his mother brought him from Lesbos to his brother David on Mt Ida. While there he was taught the Psalter and all knowledge pertaining to the monastic rule. At the age of twenty-two, he was tonsured a monk and, six years later, ordained a priest by the bishop of Gargara, the one who had received David into priesthood. Two years following this ordination and three days prior to his death, David urged his brother to return to their homeland for it was in need of extraordinary assistance. Forty days after the death of his brother, Symeon departed for Mytilene in deep mourning where he set up a column, in a place close to the holy sanctuary of the Mother of God, called Molos (Μῶλος) and located at the south harbor. As a stylite, Symeon was served by his brother Georgios whom he had tonsured a monk and whom he miraculously restored to health when injured by a demon. Professing a rigorous ascetical conduct, the stylite Symeon chained himself with yokes of iron and practised a harsh fasting. His pillar became the scene of several miraculous incidents to which only his brother Georgios bore witness. The stylite persevered such an austere way of life for thirty-three years, i.e., 784-817.

Soon after Leon V reinstated Iconoclasm, another Leon assumed the diocese of Lesbos. The latter, instigated by the emperor and the iconoclast patriarch Theodotos Kassiteras, launched a persecution against Symeon and Georgios and their followers. At the beginning it took the form of slander, but later involved in acts of violence. A servant was sent from the emperor with orders either to drag Symeon away or burn him up on his column. In response to the stylite's intransigence the imperial emissary ordered the inhabitants of Mytilene to collect wood from the mountain and to burn him. According to the hagiographer, after fire was set to the wood, Symeon was violently dragged down from his column; however, when the emissary saw the stylite in his iron collars, he became frightened, was seized with chills and a violent fever, and was paralyzed throughout his entire body. As a result, he became a devotee of the icons and a follower of the saint. Not much later, and as foreseen by St Symeon, Leon V met a violent death in the palace church of St Stephanos. At that time Symeon was transferred by the iconoclast bishop to an islet at the mouth of the gulf of Gera, where stood a church of St Isidoros. Although the more tolerant Michael II was then reigning, the local bishop did not give up his persecution. Unable to do serious harm to the saint, he came to Constantinople and managed to obtain the patriarch's consent to have Symeon condemned to exile. In the 54th year of his life, the saint was compelled to leave Mytilene along with seven of his disciples for a small, uninhabited island named Lagousai located in the theme of Thrakesion. There he erected a column, ten cubits high, which, for the following two years, attracted many pilgrims, especially of high status. However, because of Thomas the Slav's rebellion against Michael II, the Arabs of Africa were able to launch serious attacks on the empire's islands and coastal areas. In this bad situation, Symeon was compelled by his disciples to sail to Byzantium. On his way to the capital, he made a stop at the monastery of Medikion, where he met its famous abbot Niketas (+ 824); he also visited many servants of God, especially those living under wretched conditions (ταλαιπωρούμενοι) in the area of Sigriane and Kyzikos. At that point the hagiographer relates the story of

Hypatia-Febronia, a girl keen on learning and attracted to monasticism, despite her mother's insistence to marrying her off; one night the girl saw in a dream an astonishing apparition that caused her to become mute. In a writing tablet she revealed her vision to her perplexed mother: it was Symeon, then residing on the left side of Constantinople near Pegai (probably modern Kasimpasha). With an escort of servants the girl and her mother reached the ascetic who, upon seeing the boat approaching, renamed the girl Febronia (until then called Hypatia) and asked her to remain with him for seven days. On the seventh day, after receiving Holy Communion from Symeon's hands every day, she was able to speak again. Together with his disciples, Symeon came to her house, which not much later was transformed into a nunnery for the mother, her two daughters, and the more outstanding of their servants who all took the monastic habit. Apart from Hypatia-Febronia, a certain Stephanos, son of the *patrikios* Basileios, became witness to Symeon's miraculous power.

After Theophilos resumed the fierce persecution of the iconophiles, many holy bishops and monastics were confined to the Praitonion, among them Symeon. At the instigation of Ioannes Grammatikos, the emperor wished to drown all the fathers in prison, but the empress Theodora resisted. Along with the other confessors of the faith Symeon was merely led out of the prison and flogged with 150 lashes; then he was condemned to exile on the island of Aphousia together with the brothers Theodoros and Theophanes, tattooed on their forehands with iconoclastic verses. During this period of exile Symeon chased away the demons dwelling near a stream by the sea; at that very spot he erected a small monastery dedicated to the Theotokos. Moreover, he cured Georgios, son of Leon, who suffered from a hernia and offered up to the famished poor of the island the loaves of bread set on his monks' table. An hour passed and a cargo ship full of goods anchored at the front of his monastery. On the very night the emperor Theophilos died, Symeon saw him in a dream imploring him with the words "O monk, help me." Upon awaking, he revealed the death of the emperor to his companions. Later on, a letter reached him from the empress Theodora inviting him to come to the capital along with his fellow-exiles. Before sailing to Byzantium, he sent a courier with a letter to his brother Georgios urging him to join him quickly. On his voyage to Constantinople St Antonios appeared to him in a dream and suggested that he prepare a place for him and his companions in the quarter of Kanikleiou. Along with his brother Georgios he was received by the empress and the future patriarch Methodios in a part of the palace called Peribleptos. To these three men Theodora entrusted both her decision to restore the veneration of icons and her request that her husband Theophilos not be condemned to anathema. Whereas Georgios, Methodios, Ioannes Katasambas, and the hermit Ioannikios approved of the empress' purpose, Symeon and his followers did not consent to have Theophilos absolved. Taking advantage of the state of discord that affected the iconophile camp, the iconoclast patriarch Ioannes Grammatikos convinced the empress to convene a disputation between the two conflicting parties and assign the leadership of the Church to the victors. Confronted as they were with this sinister development Georgios, Methodios, and the leading iconophile civilians such as the senators Bardas and Petronas managed to abash Symeon, who then reconsidered the emperor's entreaty as he saw it in his dream. Theodora then convened an assembly for both parties at Kanikleiou. Although victory went to Methodios' side, Ioannes Grammatikos persuaded the empress to let him debate the uneducated Symeon in front of her. However, as it turned out, he was cheated of his expectation; for, while the child emperor Michael who was sitting next to his mother enjoyed being next to the holy father, he instead showed off his bad disposition towards the iconoclast patriarch by calling him "bad grandfather." As a result, Theodora promptly urged Symeon and those sharing his ideas to elect a new patriarch. In response, the holy man assented that Theophilos should not be reckoned among the heretics. Coming then to the Kanikleiou quarter and relating what had happened, Symeon was asked to put forward an appropriate candidate for the patriarchal throne. It was Methodios the confessor of faith whom they then proclaimed as patriarch. There followed a public procession to the church of Chalke at the sight of which Ioannes Grammatikos, sitting then in the *katechoumeneia* of Hagia Sophia felt such despair that he committed suicide. Once Orthodoxy was restored on the first Sunday of Lent, both the new patriarch Methodios and the empress Theodora appointed Symeon *synkellos* of the patriarchate and abbot of the monastery of Sts Sergios and Bacchos. It was after Georgios finally accepted the see of Mytilene that the two brothers embarked on an imperial warship (*δρόμων* ... βασιλικού), seen off by all the members of the senate and the clergy. Likewise a multitude of people welcomed them on Mytilene and, on the occasion of the Feast of the Theotokos' birth (8 September), celebrated their coming with a

holy procession that ended at the church of the Mother of God. One year after his brother was consecrated bishop, Symeon saw in a vision an angel announcing his own death. Upon hearing this Georgios was filled with despair, but on his deathbed Symeon encouraged his brother, admonishing him to care for his flock and protect it from heresy. The people of the island escorted and buried his body in the monastery of the Theotokos.

No date of death or remembrance is given in *ADSG*. The saint is among the confessors commemorated in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*.

- S** *ADSG* 217.28-255.31 (§§ 8–33); ed. PHOUNTOULIS pp. 22.17-51.33 (§§ 8–33): “...τὸν παῖδα τὸν ὕστατον Συμεώνην λέγω τὸν πάνυ, οὐ πολὺ τὸ κλέος παρὰ πάντων ἔδεται (ἦν γὰρ ὁ μείραξ, ... ἀστεῖος τῇ θέᾳ ...) ... καταλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν πατρίδα στύλον ἑαυτῷ ἐγκαθιδρύει πρὸς τῷ τῆς πανάγνου Θεομήτορος ἱερῷ τεμένει, τῷ Μόλῳ προσονομαζομένῳ τῷ πρὸς νότον τὴν θέσιν λαχόντι, ... ἰδοὺ ναῦς ἐκ Σμύρνης ἀπάρασα ἐν τῷ στύλῳ προσωρμίσθη καὶ τὸν σχοῖνον ἐν τῷ κίονι οἱ πλωτῆρες προσδήσαντες ἐξῆλθον τοῦ πλοίου ἐν τῷ ναῷ προσευξόμενοι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων προσευχὰς κοιμώμενοι, ... Ὁ δὲ θεοφρων μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ στύλου κατάβασιν Συμεὼν ὑπὸ τῆς νήσου αἰρεσιάρχου ἐπισκόπου ὀχλούμενος μετώκισεν εἰς ἕτερον νησιδίον σμικρότατον τῇ περιγραφῇ λίαν ἐν τῷ μικροῦ κόλπου στομίῳ διακείμενον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ναὸς τοῦ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Ἰσιδώρου ἐνίδρυται... τῆς βασιλευούσης ἐκπλεύσας καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐπιβάς πόλει, [εἰς] νῆσον εὐτελῇ καὶ ἀοίκητον Λαγούσας ἐπονομαζομένην καταδικάζει τὸν ἅγιον. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος ἄσμενος πάντα καὶ ἀνενδότῳ ἀγαλλιάσει γενναίως ἐγκαρτερῶν, μεταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης πρὸς τὴν ἐξορίαν τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ ἔτει, ἐπιλαβόμενός τε τῶν ἑπτὰ μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξώρμησεν, ἑάσας τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν, τὸν ὁσιώτατόν φημι Γεώργιον, τοῦ ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ συστάντος παρ’ αὐτοῦ μονυδρίου προνοητήν τε καὶ καθηγήτορα. Ἀπελθὼν δ’ ἐν τῇ εἰρημένῃ νήσῳ στύλον ὥσει πηχῶν δέκα δειμάμενος πάλιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἑαυτὸν ἀνυψοί... ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ ... Συμεὼν μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα κάθοδον ... τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ συμπαρὼν καὶ τὰ πρακτέα συμβουλευόμενος ἐπὶ ἔτει ἐνὶ τῶν ᾧδε μεταστῆναι κεκέλευστο φωνῆς τε καὶ ὀπτασίας ἀγγελικῆς κατηξίωτο... τῆς δ’ ἐκδημίας πανταχοῦ διαφημισθείσης οἱ τῆς νήσου συναθροισθέντες καὶ πικρῶς τὴν αὐτοῦ στέρησιν δακρύνοντες καὶ ὀλοφρύνοντες, τό τε τίμιον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυάθλον σῶμα περικυκλοῦντες στεναγμοῖς τε καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ ᾄσμασι ἐπικηδεῖοις προπέμψαντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Θεοτόκου μονὴν ὁσίως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τοῦτο κατέθεντο...” (extracts; see also text as in *Georgios, bishop of Mytilene and saint*, no. 80); Engl. tr.: *Defenders of Images* 160-236.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 7178; *PBE*: Symeon 13; *ODB* 589; D. STIERNON in: *Bibliotheca sanctorum* v. 9 cols 1138-1139 (s.v. Simeone Stilita, il Confessore); *EPLBHC* VI 109-110; GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* 146-147; ŠEVČENKO, *Hagiography* 117-118; KAZHDAN, *Notes* 185-188; EFTHYMIADIS, *Correspondence* 153-154 and n. 54; D. ABRAHAMSE in: *Defenders of Images* 143-148; KARLIN-HAYTER, *Notes* 325-350; EADEM, *Restoration of Orthodoxy* 361-373.

145. Theodoros Makrembolites, metropolitan of Methymna (Θεόδωρος Μακρεμβολίτης)

D Second or third quarter of the 12th c.

B Metropolitan of Methymna and owner of at least seven seals from the same *boulloterion* containing two dodecasyllabic verses. He is likely identical with Theodoros of Methymna.

Several Makrembolitai served in the civil administration of themes in Asia Minor; among them, a Theodoros Makrembolites, *protovestēs* and judge of Opsikion, and a Theodoros Makrembolites, *protospatharios* and *domestikos* of the Optimatoi (see Μικρὰ Ἀσία τῶν θεμάτων 399 and 427).

- S** *CBSDO* 52.3 (p. 145-146), also LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/3 no. 1798 (p. 142): Combined readings reconstructed from seven seals: Obv.: The Virgin Mary standing, holding Christ, and flanked by the inscription: “Μή(τη)ρ Θ(ε)οῦ. Rev.: Μ(ή)τερ Θ(ε)οῦ σφράγιζε καὶ γραφὰς τύπου // Μακρεμβολίτου Μεθύμνης Θεοδώρου.”

Bibl.: ANGOLD, *Church* 146-147. On the family see HUNGER, *Die Makremboliten* 1-28; on the seals, *ibid.* 24 (no. 20).

146. Theodoros metropolitan of Methymna (Θεόδωρος)

D 24 March 1173 and 10 January 1177

B A signatory of the *Tomos* of 24 March 1173, i.e., from the patriarchate of Michael III of Anchialos (1170-1178). The *Tomos* decreed that all ecclesiastical prelates take an oath of fidelity to the emperor and his descendants. He is also the signatory of a synodic letter that the same patriarch sent to Gregorios IV, *katholikos* of Armenia; the letter, dated 10 January, 1177, invited the Armenian prelate to adhere to the orthodox faith and ecclesiastical union.

He is likely identical with Theodoros Makrembolites, also metropolitan of Methymna in the same period.

S a) Michael of Anchialos, *Τόμος*, ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS p. 109.18: “... Θεοδώρου Μηθύμνης ...”; previous ed. PAVLOV p. 391.

b) GRUMEL, *Regestes* 1132: he is attested in the Armenian version of the synodic letter.

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 214; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης* 201; GRUMEL, *Regestes* 1120 and 1132.

147. Theoktiste of Lesbos, saint (Θεοκτίστη)

D 9th c. (ca. 830)

B A saint; born in Methymna, she was orphaned in infancy. Placed in a convent by her relatives, she was later tonsured a nun. At the age of 18, at Easter time, she paid a visit to her married sister who lived in a nearby village. It was at this place that she fell prey to Cretan Arabs led by Nisiris and, along with all local inhabitants, was carried away to the island of Paros. While the pirates were negotiating the price of the captives, she found a pretext to hide in the woods until her tormentors sailed away. She spent the rest of her life as a hermit on that island.

The story of her life was modelled on the *vita* of St Mary of Egypt, with the exception that there the repentant prostitute was transformed into a chaste nun. Whether legendary or not, Theoktiste's story reflects the contemporary conditions on the islands of the Aegean, endangered by the raids of the Arabs. Hints at similar attacks on Lesbos are found in Ignatios the Deacon, *Letter* 37.36, ed. MANGO pp. 104-105 and comm. 191.

There exist two versions of the same *vita*: the first (*BHG* 1723-4) was written by Niketas Magistros, whereas the second (*BHG* 1725-6) is a stylistic reworking (though with no significant variants) by Symeon Metaphrastes.

S a) Niketas Magistros, *Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos* 15 p. 229: “ἐμοί φησιν Λέσβος πατρίς, Μήθυμνα πόλις, ὄνομα Θεοκτίστη, τὸ πολίτευμα μοναχή. Ἔτι νηπία δ’ ὀρφανισθεῖσα, παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐδόθη εἰς παρθενῶνα καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν ἡμφίεσμαι σχῆμα. Γεγονυῖα δὲ χρόνων ἐγγὺς ὀκτωκαίδεκα, κατὰ τὰς Πασχαλίους ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐξέδραμον κώμην, ἀσπασομένη τὴν ἀδελφὴν· ἦν γὰρ μοι κατοικοῦσα πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ μετὰ συμβίου. Νυκτὶ δὲ ἐπιδραμόντες Ἄραβες Κρήτες, ὧν ἀρχηγὸς ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Νίσιρις ἐκεῖνος, ἠχμαλώτισαν ἅπαντας.”

b) Symeon Metaphrastes, *Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos* 13, ed. IOANNOU p. 29: “ἐμοί φησι, Λέσβος πατρίς, Μήθυμνα πόλις, ὄνομα Θεοκτίστη, τὸ πολίτευμα μοναχή. Ἔτι νηπία δέ μοι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, τῶν γεννητόρων κατοικομένων, παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐδόθη εἰς παρθενῶνα, καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν ἡμφίεσμαι σχῆμα. Ἔτη δὲ ἐγγὺς ὀκτωκαίδεκα γενομένη περὶ τὰς τοῦ Πάσχα ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐξέδραμον κώμην, ἀσπασομένη τὴν ἀδελφὴν (ἦν γὰρ μοι κατοικοῦσα πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ μετὰ συμβίου). Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιδραμόντες Ἄραβες Κρήτες, ὧν ἀρχηγὸς ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Νίσιρις ἐκεῖνος, πάντας ἡμᾶς αἰρούσιν.”

c) SynaxCP 205: “... ἥτις ἦν πόλεως Μιθίμνης (Μηθύμνης Sa) τὸν βίον μοναχή. Ἐκ γὰρ νηπίας τῆς ἡλικίας δεδομένη ἦν εἰς παρθενῶνα· εἰς δὲ τὴν πλησίον ἐλθοῦσα κώμην ἀσπασομένη τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν, ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπιδραμόντες Κρήτες, ὧν ἡγεῖτο ὁ Νίσιρις, ἐκεῖ πάντας ἐκείνους κάκείνην συνέλαβον...”

Related source: *AHG* III 270 (canon XXII): ... τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης // καὶ τῆς σῆς πατρίδος // ἀσκητηρίου τε // καὶ τῶν παρθένων χοροῦ // ἑαλωκυῖαν, παρθένε, // ὡς στρουθίον ἀνεῖρρύσατο // τῆς παγίδος Κύριος // Ἀράβων θηρευσάντων σε.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 8027; *ODB* 2055; DÖLGER, *Regesten* 554; J.-M. SAUGET in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* v. 12 cols 205-207 (s.v. Teoctista); ZERLENTIS, *Περὶ τοῦ ἀξιολπίστου*; DELEHAYE, *Théoctiste*; PHOUNTOLIS, *Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν λειψάνων* 37-38; WESTERINK, *Nicétas*

Magistros; KARSAY, *Der Jäger von Euböa*; CHRISTIDIS, *Raids* 95; IDEM, *Conquest of Crete* 163 and 167; KAZHDAN, *Notes* 181; SOPHIANOS, *Ὁ Βίος τῆς ὁσίας Θεοκτίστης* 253-268; EFTHYMIADIS, *Νοεροί*; KAZHDAN, *Literature* II 86.

148. Theophylaktos bishop of Methymna (Θεοφύλακτος)

D 691/2

B Bishop of Methymna who participated in the Quinisext council (of Trullo) and signed its concluding session.

S MANSI XI 992D: “Θεοφύλακτος ἐλάχιστος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Μηθυμναίων πόλεως τῆς Λέσβου.”

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 8243; *PBE*: Theophylaktos 11; FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 214; OHME, *Quinisextum* 151 (no. 48) and 306; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης* 199; KODER, *Aigaion* 228-230.

149. Thomaïs or Thomaë, saint (Θωμαῖς, Θωμάη)

D 10th c.

B Born on Lesbos, she was the only child of Michael and Kale. Soon after her birth, her parents moved to the Bosporos (identified with Chalkedon in the *Laudation* by Konstantinos Akropolites). At the age of 24, she was forced to marry Stephanos, who tortured her on account of her philanthropic activity and her frequent churchgoing. Her *vita* records a number of miracles, most of which she performed in Constantinople. She was buried in the monastery *ta Mikra Rhomaïou*, of which her mother was the abbess.

This *vita* bears many thematic parallels with the *Life of St Mary the Younger*. It was probably written during the reign of Romanos II (959-963), whom the hagiographer addresses in the peroration, calling him porphyrogenetos.

The highly rhetorical anonymous version preserved in *Atheniensis gr.* 2104 (14th c.) and edited by Fr. Halkin (*BHG* 2455) seems to place the saint's marriage on Lesbos, i.e., before the departure of her family for the hinterland of Constantinople; the same is also transmitted in the *Laudation* by Konstantinos Akropolites (*BHG* 2457) and the verse *Synaxarion*, also preserved in the Athens manuscript (*BHG* 2456). Devoid, as a whole, of concrete details, these texts fail to mention the burial place of Thomaïs.

In the versions *BHG* 2455 and 2456 the name of the saint appears also as Θωμάη.

S a) *vita* of St Thomaïs of Lesbos A: “... ταύτην ἤνεγκε Λέσβος, νῆσος ἄλλη μακάρων σχεδόν, τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκφύσσα καὶ ταύτην ἐνεγκαμένη τῷ παρόντι βίω μέγα τι καλὸν ἐπαινετὸν καὶ ἐράσιμον ...”

b) *vita* of St Thomaïs of Lesbos B, p. 189: “... ἤνεγκε γοῦν ταύτην ὥσπερ τινὰ βλαστὸν ἰθαγενή καὶ ἐγγώριον ἢ περίκλυτος καὶ περιώνυμος νῆσος καὶ ὄντως περιφανεστάτη καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη νήσων Λέσβος ἢ διαβόητος ...”

c) Akropolites, *Laudation of St Thomaïs of Lesbos*: “... Θωμαῖς ἢ τὴν τύχην μὲν ταπεινή, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν ὑψηλή· ἤνεγκε μὲν γὰρ ταύτην ἡ νῆσος Λέσβος ...”

d) *vita* of St Thomaïs of Lesbos-in-verse, ed. PHOUNTOULIS p. 8: “... Ταύτη πατρίς πέφυκε λοιπὸν ἡ Λέσβος, // ἦν Μιτυλήνην ἀποκαλοῦσι πλέον // πατὴρ Μιχαὴλ καὶ Καλὴ μήτηρ φίλη // ζεύγος καθαρὸν ἀρετῇ συνημμένον ...”

Bibl.: *ODB* 2076; R. JANIN in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* v. 12 col 530 (s.v. Tomaide); COSTA-LOUILLET, *Saints* 836-839; PHOUNTOULIS, *Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν λειψάνων*, 38-39; BUCHHOLZ, *Methymna*, 238; LAIOU, *Ἡ ἱστορία ἐνὸς γάμου* 237-251; NIKOLAOU, *Παλινωδιές*. See also HALSALL, *Women Bodies* 219 and 227-260.

150. Thomas metropolitan of Mytilene (Θωμάς)

D Second half of the 10th c.

B Owner of a seal.

S LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/1, no. 752 (p. 575); and CHEYNET, MORRISSON, and SEIBT, *Sceaux Henri Seyrig*, no. 260: Obv.: bust of the Virgin Mary holding the Holy Infant on Her left arm; around “[Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ε)ι] τῷ σῷ δού[λ(ω)].” Rev.: “Θωμ<ᾱ> μ(ητ)ροπ[ολ(ή)τ]η Με(ι)τολήνης.”

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 189.

151. Thomas metropolitan of Mytilene (Θωμάς)

D 11th c.

B Owner of a seal. Seibt believes that he is the same person as no. 150 and dates him to the second half of the 9th c. or to the early 10th c.

S *CBSDO* 51.11 (p. 144): Obv.: no inscription visible. Rev.: “Θωμάς μ(ητ)ροπ[ολ(ίτ)η] Μιτυλ(ήνης).”

Bibl.: SEIBT, *Review* 464.

152. Thomas the eunuch (Θωμάς)

D 12th c. (*fl.* reign of Manuel I Komnenos).

B A native of Lesbos; the child of a humble family (οικίας ... ἀφανούς) and a man lacking in education, he came to Constantinople where he made his living by bloodletting. By practising this “awful” medical craft, he won a reputation in the imperial palace. Having earned a large amount of money in a short period of time, some years later he took it away and left for Palestine. While there he experienced a series of misfortunes, returned to the capital and tried to regain the emperor Manuel I’s favor. Having achieved this, he nonetheless again fell into disgrace. As a result, he spent the rest of his life in the Elephantine prison. Prior to that, in 1175, he served Manuel I as an ambassador to the Seljuk sultan Kilidj Arslan II, claiming on the emperor’s behalf the town of Amaseia. Nevertheless, not only did his embassy prove fruitless, he also risked being killed by the Seljuks who had set traps on the road.

The above biographical sketch is provided by the historiographer Ioannes Kinnamos. Though reticent about this person and his role in the embassy to the Seljuks, Niketas Choniates records a man by the same name serving Stephen IV, king of Hungary. Styled as ὑποδρηστήρ, this Thomas was capable of murder. In the course of opening the vein of Stephen, he smeared the incision with poison, thereby killing him. This incident occurred on the 13th of April, 1165. The fact that both Thomases practised the same medical skill favors the hypothesis either that they were the same person or, more likely, that Choniates re-adapted the story of Stephen IV’s poisoning, adding the name of the poisoner as he found it elsewhere in Kinnamos (see EFTHYMIADIS, *Poisoning of Stephen IV*).

S Kinnamos, *History* 7.2, ed. MEINEKE pp. 296.24-297.16: “... Λέσβου μὲν ὥρμητο νήσου, οἰκίας δὲ ἀφανοῦς γεγονώς, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ὅ τι τῶν λόγου ἀξίων ἐπιτήδευμα αὐτῷ ἦν, ἐς Βυζάντιον ἰόντι ἔργον ἐπιμελὲς ἐγεγόνει φλέβας ἀνθρώπων τέμνοντι ἐντεῦθεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ζῆν περιποιεῖσθαι. Ἄλλ’ ἔοικε τῶν ἀπάντων εἶναι μηδὲν ὃ βουλομένη τῇ τύχῃ ὑπηρετεῖν ἥκιστα δύναιτο. Θωμάς γὰρ καίτοι ἐς τοῦσχατον βαναυσίας ἦκων, ἐκ τούτου δὴ τοῦ τεχνίου μέγας ἐν βασιλείοις εἶπερ τις ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, χρήματά τε μεγάλα ἐν βραχεὶ περιβεβλημένος χρόνοις τισὶν ὕστερον ἐς Παλαιστίνην ζῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπὼν ὤχετο. Μὴ κατὰ γνώμην δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν τῆδε ξυμπιπτόντων αὐθις ἐπὶ βασιλέα παραγίνεται, ἰλεώ τε αὐτοῦ τετυχηκῶς δύσους εἰσαῦθις ἠλέγχετο, ἐς τὴν ἐν παλατίῳ τε φρουρὰν ἀχθεῖς, ἦν Ἐλεφαντίνην ἔθος καλεῖν ἐστίν, ἐνταῦθα τὸν βίον ξυνεμετρήσατο. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον. Τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν σουλτάν, ὥσπερ ἐλέγομεν, παραγεγονώς, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ὦν ἔνεκα ἦλθεν ἐπιτελὲς ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖν ἤθελεν, ἄπρακτος ἐς βασιλέα παλινოსτεῖ, ὅτε δὴ μικροῦ καὶ ἀπεκτονέσθαι τοῦτον ἐδέησαν Πέρσαι οἱ ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνεδρεύοντες ἦσαν...”; also mentioned in *ibid.* p. 269.17; French tr.: John Kinnamos, *Chronique* 173 and 191; Engl. tr.: John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* 201-202 and 222.

On Thomas the poisoner of Stephen IV see Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. VAN DIETEN p. 128 (= Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio* v. 1 290–292, comm. 604, n. 13).

Bibl.: DÖLGER, *Regesten* 1519; CHALANDON, *Comnène*, v. 2 225; ANGOLD, *Empire* 1025-1204, 213.

153. Tzachas (Çaka, Τζαχᾶς, Τζαχατζᾶς)

D End of 1089-spring 1093

B Seljuk emir of Smyrne. According to Anna Komnene, he had been a prisoner of Nikephoros III Botaneiates who granted him the office of *protonobelissimos* (*Alexiad* 7.8.7, ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS p. 225.73-75). He became an adversary of the Byzantine empire after Alexios I Komnenos ascended the throne. The first phase of his military expeditions was conducted in NW Asia Minor by 1081 and had ended by 1087. While Alexios I Komnenos was fighting against the Pechenegs, he seized the chance to establish a fleet, appointing a local man from Smyrne as commander. After he took Klazomenai and Phokaia, he sent a threatening letter to Alopas, the *kourator* of Mytilene, who abandoned the island overnight and sailed to Constantinople. Tzachas then took Mytilene by assault. As he did not manage to capture Methymna, the emperor sent a considerable naval force to fortify this town. Tzachas, however, headed for the island of Chios, which he also conquered by assault.

Worried about these developments, Alexios I sent Niketas Kastamonites against the Seljuk emir, but his efforts were not successful. In 1090/1 there followed another expedition by Konstantinos Dalassenos, who, according to Anna Komnene, brought back under Byzantine control the island of Chios (*Alexiad* 7.8, pp. 223-225).

By early 1092 Tzachas, using Smyrne as his base, used a new fleet in order to raid the islands of the NE Aegean, then conquer the Byzantine capital and the imperial throne. Alexios I sent against him his brother-in-law Ioannes Doukas and Konstantinos Dalassenos. The former, named *meas doux* of the fleet, was ordered to reach Mytilene by land, whereas the latter, entrusted with command of the fleet, was to follow him by sailing near the coast. Once he arrived at Mytilene, he built some wooden towers to attack the Turks. For his part, Tzachas, considering that his brother Galabatzes was not able to defend the castle of Mytilene alone, came to confront Doukas personally. Their daily fights were to no avail for three full months. According to Anna Komnene, these unsuccessful attempts were a huge disappointment to Alexios I, who sent a letter to Doukas advising him to attack the Seljuk emir not during the daytime but after sunset. This way of fighting proved successful and Tzachas, unable to bear ceaseless war, started peace negotiations. The agreement was that, following the mutual exchange of oaths and hostages, he would depart for Smyrne leaving the inhabitants of the castle intact. However, as it turned out, Tzachas tried to take all citizens of Mytilene with him. While sailing away from Lesbos, he was intercepted by Konstantinos Dalassenos who, not having yet reached Mytilene, had stationed his fleet by a cape. With the assistance of Doukas, Dalassenos saved all war prisoners and non-combatants from Tzachas. Many of the latter's ships were captured and the crews put to death. The Seljuk leader himself was almost arrested, but, embarking on a light and swift ship, managed to pass unnoticed and flee.

The reconquest of Mytilene in 1092 was not the last act in Tzachas' clash with the Byzantines. After a while he attacked Abydos. He was finally expelled from Smyrne in 1097.

A detailed account of his expedition is provided in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene. In all probability, her account is partly trustworthy, not only in the section referring to her father's stratagem, but mostly in speaking of two different campaigns to reconquer the islands from Tzachas. As argued by Gautier (*Défection et soumission*, 11-15), the accounts of books VIII and IX concern a single expedition. Gautier discussed another source closer to the events alluding to Tzachas' activity in the eastern Aegean, namely the diatribe of Ioannes Oxeites against Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118). This text, dating from the second half of February or beginning of March 1091, mentions the fall, by divine wrath, of the islands of Chios, Mytilene, Cyprus and Crete. Another source hinting at the same events is the so-called Μοῦσαι Ἀλεξιάδες Κομνηνιάδες, a poem ascribed to Alexios I. The reference is to the violence of Persian (i.e., Turkish) arms, but the name of Tzachas is omitted. Similar allusion is made in the spurious letter of Alexios I to Robert of Flanders. The Compendium of Hugo de S. Maria on the First Crusade wrongly relates that both Chios and "Mithylena" were still held by the Turks in 1095.

S a) Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 7.8.1-8 and 9.1.2-9, ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS pp. 222-225 and 258-261: " ... τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ Τζαχᾶς ... ἐλογίσατο στόλον κτήσασθαι... προσώρμισε ταῖς Κλυζομεναῖς καὶ ἐξ ἐφόδου ταύτας κατέσχευεν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Φώκαιαν ἀπελθὼν εἶλε καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κάκειθεν ἀποστείλας πρὸς τὸν τὴν διοίκησιν Μιτυλήνης ἐμπεπιστευμένον κουράτορα τὸν Ἀλωπόν ... παραχρῆμα ἀπελθὼν ἐξ

ἐφόδου τὴν Μιτυλήνην κατέσχευεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ Μήθυμνα περὶ τὸ ἄκρον ταυτησὶ τῆς νήσου διακειμένη οὐ προσελήλυθει τῷ Τζαχᾶ, ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τοῦτου πυθόμενος παραχρήμα διὰ πλοίων ἀποστείλας ἀποκρῶσαν δύναμιν καταχωρῶσατο ταύτην. Ὁ μέντοι Τζαχᾶς οὐδένα λόγον τῆς Μηθύμνης ἐποίησατο, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τῆς Χίου τὸν ἀπόπλουν ποιησάμενος ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσχε καὶ ταύτην ...” Also text as in *Doukas Ioannes*.

b) Zonaras, *Epitome Historion* 18.25.14, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST p. 736.19-737.5: “... ἀλλ' ὁ Τζαχᾶς (Τοῦρκος δὲ καὶ οὗτος οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν πολὺς) διὰ πλοιαρίων ὀλίγων ἀνωιστὶ τῇ νήσῳ Χίῳ προσορμισθεὶς κατέσχε ταύτην καὶ στόλον ἐν αὐτῇ ναυπηγεῖ, δι' οὗ τὴν τε Λέσβον ἀνήρπασε καὶ τὴν Σάμον, τὴν τε Ῥόδον ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησατο καὶ πλείους ἄλλας τῶν νήσων...”; German tr.: Zonaras, *Chronik* 164–165.

c) Ephraim, *Chronicle*, ed. LAMPSIDES, v. 3534-3537 (p. 131): “... καὶ Τοῦρκος αὐθις Τζαχᾶς τις κεκλημένος // Χίον κατασχὼν καὶ στόλον καταρτίσας, // αἰρεῖ Σάμον Λέσβον τε νήσους καὶ Ῥόδον // ἄλλας τε δεσποτείας ...”

Related sources: a) Glykas, *Βίβλος χρονική*, ed. BEKKER p. 620.5-7; b) GAUTIER, *Diatribes*, 35.2-4; c) MAAS, *Musen des Kaisers Alexios I 356-357*, v. 290-295 (Engl. tr. and comm.: MAGDALINO, Manuel I Komnenos 27-29); d) HAGENMEYER, *Epistulae et chartae*, 132-133: “nam paene tota terra ab Ierusalem usque Graeciam, et tota Graecia cum suis regionibus superioribus, quae sunt Cappadocia minor, alia maior Phrygia, Bithynia, minor Phrygia, id est Troia, Pontus, Galatia, Lydia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycia et insulae principales Chios et Mitylena et multae aliae regiones et insulae, quas non valemus modo enumerare, usque Thracias ab eis iam invasae sunt ...”; e) Hugonis de S. Maria *Itineris Hierosolymitani Compendium*, RHC occ. 5. Paris 1895, ²1967 362: “...et insulae principales illarum regionum, Chio videlicet et Mithylena, ab eis captae tenebantur.”

Bibl.: DÖLGER, *Regesten* 1152; *ODB* 2134; for a detailed account of his interesting career see CHALANDON, *Essai* 125-127, 147, 195-197; KURAT, Çaka. See also AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer* 182-184; VRANOUSSI, *Τὰ ἀγιολογικὰ κείμενα τοῦ ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου* 117-119; GAUTIER, *Défection et soumission* 218-220; ANGOLD, *Empire* 110-113; SAVVIDES, *Τζαχᾶς*; TSOUGARAKIS, “Defection” 287; VRYONIS, *Medieval Hellenism* 115; SAVVIDES, *Emir Tzachas*, 122-134; CHEYNET, *La résistance* 145-146; DE PLANHOL, *Islam* 184-185; GASTGEGER, *Das Schreiben Alexios I. Komnenos*; SCHREINER, *Der Brief des Alexios I. Komnenos* 135-136.

154. Xeros Manuel (Ξηρὸς Μανουήλ)

D May 1180 or 1195, February 1192 or 1207

B He received at lease for two lifetimes (ἐπὶ δυοῖς προσώποις-his own and his son's) the monastery of Hagios Menas of Kato Ptomaia (or -oi) from the metropolitan of Mytilene at a rent of twenty *trikephala nomismata*. Ten of these *nomismata* had to be credited to the metropolitan see and the other ten to the house of the metropolitan's brother-in-law Ioannes Serbes. Though the term is not used, Xeros was a *charistikarios*, i.e., a lay patron who took on the management of the monastery. (The possibility cannot be excluded that he was an absentee landowner, in residence elsewhere.) After his death, his rights were taken over by his son Leon Komnenos. The act preserving this agreement ends with the date of May of indiction 13, the signature of Manuel Xeros, and a note that a lead seal was attached to it; on the obverse of this seal were depicted the two martyrs, St Theodoros and St Demetrios, whereas the reverse holds the verse “Ξηρὸν Μανουήλ μαρτύρων δυὰς σκέποις.”

In view of the military saints inscribed on his lead seal, the identification of this person with Manuel Xeros, a notable military official of Manuel I Komnenos mentioned by Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. VAN DIETEN p. 196.82 ff, cannot be excluded.

S *PRK* I 490 act no. 83 (= *MM* I 122) and *PRK* I 498, act no. 86 (= *MM* I 125): text as in *Komnenos Leon*.

Bibl.: LAURENT, *Regestes* 1358; MOUTZOURES, *Τὰ χαριστικά* 538-543, 566-569; ANGOLD, *Church* 337-338; *ODB* 2210 (on the family and Manuel).

ANONYMOUS

155. Anonymous brother-in-law of Theoktiste of Lesbos

D First half of the 9th c. (ca. 830)

B Husband of the sister of St Theoktiste and an inhabitant of a village near Methymna. Though the text is not precise enough, he must have been one of the locals who were attacked overnight by the Arab pirate Nisiris and brought to the island of Paros.

S a) Niketas Magistros, *Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos* 15 p. 229: text as in *Theoktiste of Lesbos saint*.

b) Symeon Metaphrastes, *Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos* 13, ed. IOANNOU p. 29: text as in *Theoktiste of Lesbos saint*.

Bibl.: PMBZ 8027B.

156. Anonymous emissary of Leon V to Mytilene

D 815-820

B An imperial official sent to Mytilene during the iconoclastic persecution of Leon V (815-820) in order either to drag St Symeon away or burn him up on his column. He is called a servant sent from the emperor (ὕπηρετης ἐκ βασιλέως). As the hagiographer has it, he first had an audience with the saint and then ordered that wood be collected on the mountain and fire set on the saint's column. Once he saw the saint stepping down from his column shackled in iron collars, he was seized with chills and fever that paralyzed his entire body. As a result, he exchanged his frenzy for devotion and begged Symeon to spare his life. The saint predicted that, once he repudiated the heresy, he would not die in a foreign land (i.e., Lesbos) but, after living in his homeland, would depart for the better life in peace. And when he promised the saint to show repentance, it was prophesied that he would not die before he received Symeon's disciple with a letter. In 821, after the murder of Leon V, he left Lesbos for the capital in poor health. When the doctors predicted his death, he remembered Symeon's promises, but considered their statements of no significance. Symeon, then exiled on an islet in the gulf of Gera, wrote a letter and sent it to Constantinople with one of his disciples. His former persecutor received the monk and his letter in a spirit of rejoicing; after embracing his relatives and friends, he read the letter and placed it on his chest. Then, as all were watching, he gave up his spirit.

S AD SG 227.15-230.14 (§§ 15-16); ed. PHOUNTOULIS pp. 30.19-32.20 (§§ 15-16): «Καὶ δὴ στέλλεται ὑπηρετὴς ἐκ βασιλέως ἢ τοῦτον ἐλκύσαι ὅπῃ βούλοιοτο, ἢ πυρὶ κατακαῦσαι ἀνηλεῶς ἐν τῷ στύλῳ τὸν ὅσιον, ... καὶ δὴ προφθάσας ὁ σταλὴς τύραννος τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀχαῶβ ἐφθέγγετο πρὸς τὸν ἀληθὲς τοῦ Ἡλιοῦ μιμητὴν καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ζηλωτὴν προθυμότατον· «σὺ εἰ, λέγων, ὁ διαστρέφων τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ;» Ὁ δὲ φησιν· «οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλ' ὁ σὸς ἐπάρατος βασιλεύς.» Ὁ δὲ ... προστάσσει τοῖς οἰκήτορσι Μιτυλήνης ὕλην ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους μετακομίσαι καὶ τοῦτον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρόσταξιν πυρὶ παραδοῦναι... ὁ ἄρχων ἔμβορος γενόμενος φρίκη τε καὶ λαύρῳ πυρετῷ συσχεθεὶς ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι παρελύετο. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θέαμα ξένον καὶ παράδοξον· ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ ὁ λύκος ἐγένετο πρόβατον... ζῶν χαρισθῆναι ἠντιβόλει, τοῖς γόνασιν ἐλεεινῶς τοῦ ἀγίου προσκυλινδούμενος. Ὁ δὲ (sc. Symeon) φησι· «Μὴ φοβοῦ, τέκνον· ἂν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πείθῃ τὴν αἵρεσιν βδελυζάμενος καὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἔση προσκυνητὴς εἰκόνων, οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ οὐ τεθνήξεις χώρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀξιωθήσῃ βασιλείας ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου ζῶν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῶν ἔνθεν ἀποδημῶν.» Τοῦ δὲ ὑποσχομένου ἐκ τελείας καρδίας ταῦτα πληροῦν, ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ ἅγιος· «τοῦτό σοι σημεῖον ἔστω· οὐ μὴ τῶν βιωτικῶν μεταστῇς ἕως ὅτου ὑπηρετὴν ἐμὸν μετὰ γραμμάτων προσδέξῃ.»... εἰς ἔννοιαν δ' ἐλθὼν ὁ μακάριος τῆς τοῦ προρρηθέντος ἀνδρὸς ὑποσχέσεως γράψας ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσιν ἐνὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν καὶ διὰ ταχέος ἐκπέμπει... »; Engl. tr.: Defenders of Images 180-185.

Bibl.: PMBZ 11760; PBE: Anonymous 271.

157. Anonymous executioner**D** 969

B A man ordered to blind Leon and Nikephoros Phokas who, on account of their rebellion against Ioannes I Tzimiskes, were exiled there. Either prompted by the emperor himself or on his own initiative, he burned only their eyelashes, leaving their pupils intact. A sign that the emperor was hiding behind this humane behavior is that the executioner did not suffer any punishment.

Ioannes Skylitzes and Ioannes Zonaras, the other sources which record the same events, do not personify the act of blinding.

S Leon the Deacon, *Historia* 9.3, ed. HASE p. 145.10-19: "...Λέων Κουροπαλάτης ὁ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Νικηφόρου ὁμαίων, ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ Λέσβον Μήθυμναν ἅμα Νικηφόρῳ τῷ υἱῷ φρουρούμενος, ὥς μοι ἤδη δεδήλωται, χρυσῷ τοὺς φρουροὺς διαφθείρας, ἐς ἀποστασίαν ἀπέκλινεν, ἀσινεῖς ἔχων τὰς κόρας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Ὁ γὰρ ἐκτυφλοῦν τὸ πρόσθεν αὐτὸν προτραπεῖς, εἴτε κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτο πεποιηκῶς (ὑπονοεῖται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο · τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δράματος διάγνωσιν κακῶν ἀπαθὴς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔμεινεν) εἴτε καὶ οἴκτῳ τῆς τοσαύτης ἐπικαμφθεῖς συμφορᾶς, τὰς μὲν βλεφαρίδας ἐκείνου κατέκαυσεν, ἀσινεῖς καὶ ἀκηράτους τὰς κόρας παρέλιπε ... "; Engl. tr.: TALBOT and SULLIVAN, *The History of Leo the Deacon*, 163-164.

Related sources: a) Leon the Deacon, *Historia* 7.2, ed. HASE p. 114.12-16; b) Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. THURN p. 292.16-31; c) Zonaras, *Epitome Historion* 17.1, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST pp. 519.11-520.13; 17.2.2-4, ed. BÜTTNER-WOBST pp. 525.3-527.4.

Bibl.: LAMPSIDES, Ἡ ποινὴ τῆς τυφλώσεως 47; HERRIN, *Blinding in Byzantium* 56-68.

158. Anonymous local aristocrat**D** 829-842

B A beneficiary of St Georgios' miracles (no. 80). He is referred to as one of those in power and a member of the aristocracy (τις τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ εὐπατριδῶν) as well as a longtime friend of the fathers Symeon and Georgios. Suffering from a terrible disease, he asked Georgios, then exiled to the village of Myrsinas, to come and visit him. Riding a donkey for the first time in his life, the holy man came to see him, yet, while he was conversing with his sick friend, the animal did not stop braying. Georgios then commanded the donkey to keep silent and, after praying to God, restored his sick friend to health.

Judging from the ensuing sentence (τοῦ βασιλέως δὲ Θεοφίλου τελευτήσαντος), the episode must be placed in the reign of Theophilos (829-842).

S *ADSG* 242.14-31 (§ 25); ed. PHOUNTOULIS p. 41.12-32 (§ 25). Engl. tr.: *Defenders of Images* 209-210.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 11734; *PBE*: Anonymous 269.

159. Anonymous merchant**D** 11th-12th c.

B One of the damaged letters from the Cairo Genizah (written in Greek, but in Hebrew characters), concerning the trade in hides, refers to Mytilene in the context of negotiations over goods and documents. One of the merchants involved in the trade or one of his agents must have visited the island for some purpose. The editor notes, however, that the reading is uncertain.

S NICHOLAS DE LANGE, *Greek Jewish Documents from the Cairo Genizah*. Tübingen 1996: no. 4, pp. 21-26 (here verso line 8): "... to Mytilene and then he said ..."

Bibl.: JACOBY, *Cairo Genizah* 83-95; LETSIOS, *Jewish Communities* 122.

160. Anonymous metropolitan (?) of Methymna

D Before May 1082 (or 1083)

B In all probability, a metropolitan who served as chief ambassador and letter-carrier of Alexios I Komnenos to the king of Alamania Heinrich IV (the German emperor). In his letter the Byzantine emperor invited the king to take action in Longobardia (S. Italy) and, in accordance with the signed treaties, distract Robert Guiscard. This plan would enable Alexios to gather mercenaries and expel the Norman leader from Illyrikon. The embassy assured the German king that, if he acted so, the Byzantine emperor would grant him many favours. This minor embassy seems not to be mentioned in Western sources. Peter Frankopan, however, has indicated to us (pers. comm.) that this embassy might have been part of the diplomatic initiatives by Alexios described by Anna at *Alexiad* 3.10.7, which may date to 1083: FRANKOPAN, *Byzantine Trade Privileges*, 142.

Reinsch, one of the most recent editors of the *Alexiad*, suspected that after the words ὁ Μηθύμνης the text, as preserved in *Coislinianus gr.* 311, is corrupt. Probably the name of the man is missing. Without giving any reference, Moutzoures identifies him with Nikolaos metropolitan of Methymna.

S Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 5.3.1, ed. REINSCH and KAMBYLIS p. 146: "...ἐπετόμφει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ῥῆγα Ἀλαμανίας πρέσβεις, ὧν προεξήρχεν ὁ Μηθύμνης *** καλούμενος ... "

Bibl.: DÖLGER, *Regesten* 1080; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης* 200; CHALANDON, *Essai* 69; LOUNGHIS, *Les ambassades byzantines* 246-247, 383, 481. For the relations between Alexios and Heinrich, see CIGGAAR, *Western Travelers* 221-225, esp. 223; ROBINSON, *Henry IV of Germany* 214-215, 222-224; and FRANKOPAN, *Byzantine Trade Privileges* 142.

161. Anonymous metropolitan of Mytilene

D 11th-12th c.

B Anonymous bishop of Mytilene who, according to a largely fictitious Russian tradition, was sent by the emperor as an envoy to Vladimir Monomach, the prince of Kiev, along with the metropolitans of Miletos and Ephesos. The embassy brought a letter and imperial gifts, though the emperor is variously identified as Konstantinos Monomachos, Alexios Komnenos, or Ioannes Komnenos in the different traditions. The letter survives only in late Slavic "translations" (e.g., of the 16th c.), and its authenticity is very doubtful. Vladimir II of Kiev is credited with the name Monomakh because his mother was a daughter or kinswoman of Konstantinos IX Monomachos. But chronologically the reigns do not match: Konstantinos IX died in 1055, while Vladimir II became prince in 1113. If Konstantinos IX sent any regalia (and one should distinguish between imperial regalia and regalia sent by an emperor), as Byzantine emperors did, for example, to Hungary, it would have been sent to an earlier Kievan or Rus' prince. Muscovite rulers started claiming the imperial title "tsar" in the 1480s, demanding recognition as such by the West by 1489. Ivan IV was the first to be emphatically crowned tsar in 1547.

S *Skazanie o kniazakh vladimirskikh (Tale of the Princes of Vladimir)*, following DIMITRIEV and LIKHACHEV, *Literatura drevnei Rusi* 283-296: "Then the pious emperor Konstantinos Monomachos reigned in Constantinople, and at that time there was war with Persians and Latins. And he made a wise imperial decision, sending as envoys to the grand prince Vladimir Vsevolodovich: Neophytos, the metropolitan of Ephesos, and with him two bishop, those of Melitene and Mitylene, as well as Antipos, the strategos of Antioch, Eustathios, the governor of Jerusalem, and others from among his notables. He took off from his neck the lifegiving cross made of the lifegiving wood on which the Lord Christ himself had been crucified. From his head he took off the imperial diadem and placed it in a golden dish. He ordered to be brought the sardonyx chalice from which the Roman emperor Augustus himself had drunk wine, the necklace that he [Augustus or Konstantinos?] wore on his shoulders, a chain made of Arabian gold, and many other imperial gifts. He turned them over to the Metropolitan Neophytos and the bishops and the noble emissaries, and sent them to the great prince Vladimir Vsevolodovich, saying in request: 'Take from us, O God-loving and orthodox prince, to your glory and honor, these honest gifts, which from the very beginning are the imperial lot of your family and your ancestors, so that you may crown yourself on the throne of your free and self-ruling empire. Accept also this, which our emissaries will ask

of you, that we ask of your highness peace and love: then the Church of God will be strengthened and all Orthodoxy will persevere in peace under the rule of our majesty and of your free self-ruling great Russia. Now you will call yourself God-crowned emperor, crowned with this imperial crown by the hand of the holy Metropolitan kyr Neophytos and the (other) bishops.’ And from this time the grand prince Vladimir Vsevolodovich started to call himself Monomakh, emperor of great Russia. And after this he lived in eternal peace and love with emperor Konstantinos. From then until now it is with this imperial diadem, which was sent by the Greek emperor Konstantinos Monomachos, that the grand princes of Vladimir are crowned, when they become grand princes of Russia” (tr. I. Mladjov).

Bibl.: REGEL, *Analecta* Ixi-Ixix; DÖLGER, *Regesten* 1267; DIMITRIEV and LIKHACHEV, *Literatura drevnei Rusi*, 283-296.

162. Anonymous monk on Lesbos

D 717

B A monk who predicted that Konstanto, the mother of the three saintly brothers from Lesbos, will give birth to a son who will shine in virtue and will be the leader in sanctity among his brothers. He first met Konstanto, then pregnant with David, the eldest of the three brothers, while she was heading for the baths. He was preaching the word of God to several soldiers standing on the street. He stood up suddenly and rendered her obeisance. He did the same for a second time while she was returning home. To the assembly of the astonished soldiers he explained that “a company of great holy men and most genuine servants of God will be born of her.”

S *ADSG* 213.18-214.2 (§ 3); ed. PHOUNTOLIS pp. 18.41-19.16 (§ 3): “...τὸν οὖν πρωτόγονον παῖδα τὸν πανόσιον Δαβὶδ ἐν γαστρὶ φερούσης τῆς θαυμασίας ἐκείνης ἀνθρώπου ποτὲ καὶ ἀπιούσης ἐν βαλανείῳ, μονάζων τις θεοφορούμενος καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν βλέπων, μεταξύ στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐν τῇ λεωφόρῳ καθήμενος καὶ τὰ σωτήρια αὐτοῦ καὶ θεῖα ἐκπαιδεύων διδάγματα, ταύτην παριοῦσαν θεασάμενος, ὁξέως ἐξαναστὰς μετὰ σιωπῆς καὶ αἰδοῦς τὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπένειμεν. Ὡς δὲ πάλιν οἶκαδε ὑποστρεφούσης ἐκ δευτέρου τὸ αὐτὸ σέβας αὐτῇ πανευλαβῶς προσενήνοχεν, ἐκπλαγέντες ἄγαν οἱ συνεδριάζοντες στρατιῶται· «τί δήποτε τὸ τοιοῦτον δισδὸν γέρας τῇ γυναικί, ᾧ πάτερ ἅγιε, προσενήνοχας;» ἐπιμελῶς ἐπυνθάνοντο. Ὁ δὲ φησιν· «Ὅρᾶτε ταύτην, ... ὅπερ ἐν μήτρᾳ νῦν ἔμβρυον περιφέρει ὁδὸς καὶ ἀνάβασις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὁμοφύλων γενήσεται...” (extracts); Engl. tr.: Defenders of Images 153-154.

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 11503.

163. Anonymous monk of Mt Galesion

D 1042

B A member of the monastic community of Mt Galesion headed by St Lazaros. He was involved in mean acts against his abbot in order to derive personal advantage. Departing from his monastery in 1042 on the pretext that he would travel to Constantinople, he came to Smyrne where he heard that Konstantinos Monomachos, then still exiled on Lesbos, was to be proclaimed emperor. Embarking on a boat he went to Lesbos to hand over a forged letter to Monomachos wherein his ascension to the throne “was prophesized” by St Lazaros of Mt Galesion. Pleased by this “prediction,” Monomachos promised that, upon becoming emperor, he would be generous to the monastery. He also asked his manservant to be hospitable to the monk whenever he saw him again. The monk returned to Smyrne and then, once he learned that Monomachos was proclaimed emperor, departed for Constantinople. He was warmly received, given a great quantity of gold and spices, and a letter to deliver to Lazaros. Embarking on a ship, he returned to Smyrne. As the relevant folios of the only manuscript preserving the *vita* of St Lazaros (Athos, *Megisti Lavra* I 127) are blank, we do not know the ending of the story.

The monk is likely to have been already referred to in the *vita* in §§ 204 and 228.

A different version of the same story is given in the *vita* B written by Gregorios of Cyprus: the monk was sent by St Lazaros to Mytilene to announce to Konstantinos Monomachos that he would be the successor to the throne. Once he became emperor, Monomachos expressed his gratitude for the prophecy by providing gold, implements, and donations for the building of the church of the Anastasis on Mt

Galesion. The same account of the events is provided in the abridged recension of the *vita* as in cod. *Mosquensis* gr. 369 (353), f. 219.

- S** a) Gregorios the Monk, *Life of St Lazaros Galesiotes* 230 p. 579: text as in *Konstantinos IX Monomachos*.
 b) Gregorios of Cyprus, *Life of St Lazaros Galesiotes* 30 p. 600: text as in *Konstantinos IX Monomachos*.
 c) LAMPROPOULOU, Λάζαρος Γαλησιώτης, 592; IVANOV, Žitie Lazarja, 357-358: text as in *Konstantinos IX Monomachos*.

Bibl.: DÖLGER, Regesten 855; IVANOV, Žitie Lazarja 361 n. 3; MALAMUT, Route des saints 278-279.

164. Anonymous pig-owner

D 814

- B** An inhabitant of Mytilene who owned a female pig. This animal used to roam the streets of Mytilene, roll about in the mud and damage the fields and their crops; for all these “offences” it had its ears cropped and tail docked. One day it pushed on the doors of the church of St Theodora with its nose, entered the sanctuary, and stepped on the *synthronon*. This caused great astonishment and fear among onlookers, who considered the event as a bad omen anticipating the total decline of ecclesiastical affairs.

This story is transmitted in a *Narratio* preserved in *Monacensis reg. gr.* 226 (13th c.) and edited by von Dobschütz. According to him, the text must be dated to the 11th or 12th centuries. A less extended version of the same story is embedded in the Acts of the three saint brothers from Lesbos (*ADSG* 226-227; ed. PHOUNTOLIS pp. 29.26-40; Engl. tr.: Defenders of Images 177-178). According to this account, the church attendants unsuccessfully tried to scare the animal away before finally killing it. St Symeon, to whom they reported the incident, predicted that “this pig represents the bishop about to take up residence in our land by the permission of God, and prefigures the fate that will befall him.” Soon afterwards Leon V the Armenian declared his iconoclastic beliefs and another Leon assumed the see of Mytilene. It can thus be inferred that, whether transmitted independently or not, the episode can be placed on the eve of Second Iconoclasm.

Kazhdan noted that the story must have been either borrowed from the *ADSG* or derived from an independent (oral?) transmission of a local legend.

- S** DOBSCHÜTZ, Christusbilder 225*-226*: “Περὶ τῆς καθεσθείσης σκρόφας εἰς τὸ σύνθρονον τῆς μητροπόλεως Μιτυλήνης εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδώρας. Ὅς γὰρ θήλεια χειροῦ οὐσα καὶ οἰκιδίαις σιτήσεσιν ἐντρεφομένη κατ’ ἀγυῖας καὶ ἀμφοδούς περιπολοῦσα καὶ ἰλύσιν ὡς φιλοβόρβορος ἐγκυλινδουμένη τινὶ τῶν ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ οἰκητόρων ἐτύγχανεν· ἥτις καὶ τὰς τῶν πλησίον ἀρούρας καὶ τὰ λῆια συνεχῶς παραφθείρουσα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡδικημένων ποινὴν ὑποστᾶσα, ὠτότμητός τις ἐπεφύκει καὶ κωλοβόκερκος πλείσταις ἄλλαις κατατομαῖς ὁσημέραι πλησσομένη καὶ κατάστικτος, τὸν προλεγεμένον περιουῶσα κατειλήφει ναὸν καὶ ταῖς ῥίσιν οἷα εἰκὸς τὰς πύλας ὠθήσασα καὶ ἐαυτὴν εἰσωθήσασα ἐνδον τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἴκου γέγονεν. Εἰτὰ τε τῷ θεῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προβάσα καὶ ἀμοιβαδὸν τὰς βαθμίδας ὑπερναβᾶσα τῷ ἀρχιερατικῷ ἐπεκαθέσθη θρόνῳ, εὐσχημόνως καθ’ ὅσον οἷα τε ἦν ἐαυτὴν ἐγκαθιδρύσασα· ἦν πολλοὶ τῶν αὐτόθι ἐπιστάντες καὶ τεθεαμένοι θάμβει τε καταπλαγέντες καὶ τέρας τὸ συμβὰν οἰωνησάμενοι αὐτὴν μὲν τὴν ἦν θάπτον πληττοντες ἐξώθησαν, τῆς δὲ μετέπειτα γεγονυίας ἀποστασίας αὕτη προὔπεφαινε τὰ τεκμήρια, εἰς οἷον βόρβορον τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κατωλίσθησεν ἡ φιλοβόρβορος εἰκονίζουσα, καὶ τοὺς τῷ θρόνῳ ἐπιβησομένους προκατεμήνυνεν...”

Bibl.: DOBSCHÜTZ, Christusbilder 211*-212*; Defenders of Images 178 and n. 182; KAZHDAN, Literature I 202.

165. Anonymous relative of Isaakios II Angelos

D January 1204

- B** A relative of the emperor who, after the latter’s dethronement by Alexios V Mourtzouphlos took a boat and secretly came to meet the Frankish army which stationed by Lesbos. After informing them about the murder of Isaakios II Angelos, he implored them to take revenge and action against the traitors.

The event is transmitted only in the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea*. When referring to the messenger, the French version fails to mention the place where he met the “Franks.”

- S** *Libro de los fechos* 45, ed. MOREL-FATIO p. 13: “Et cela fait, un parent et serviteur de l’empereur défunt prit une barque armée et de nuit s’en fut et prit le chemin où allait l’armée des Francs, et il alla tant qu’il les trouva du côté de Mytilène et annonça au légat du pape, au capitaine de l’armée et aux autres chevaliers et seigneurs comment les Grecs de Constantinople avaient tué l’empereur et ne voulaient pas payer l’argent ni aller en leur compagnie: c’est pourquoi il les pria de vouloir venger la mort des empereurs qui avaient été tués, car à cause de la trahison commise par les Grecs, ils pouvaient avec raison prendre l’empire et le faire leur, puisque les empereurs étaient morts.” (French. tr.).
Related source: *Chronique de Morée* 54, ed. LONGNON pp. 16-17.

166. Anonymous sister of St Theoktiste of Lesbos

- D** First half of the 9th c. (ca. 830)
B A married woman, sister of St Theoktiste, and an inhabitant of a village near Methymna. During Easter she was visited in her village by Theoktiste, then a nun at the age of eighteen. It was at this spot that the locals were attacked overnight by the Arab pirate Nisirir and carried to the island of Paros. The text is not precise but she must have been one of the prisoners.
S a) Niketas Magistros, *Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos* 15 p. 229: text as in *Theoktiste of Lesbos saint*.
 b) Symeon Metaphrastes, *Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos* 13, ed. IOANNOU, p. 29: text as in *Theoktiste of Lesbos saint*.
Bibl.: *PMBZ* 8027A.

167. Anonymous strategos of Lesbos

- D** 843
B This person, mentioned as the *strategos* of Lesbos (ὁ τῆς νήσου στρατηγός), was responsible for the celebration honoring Georgios, one of the three holy brothers. Georgios was consecrated bishop of Mytilene upon his return from Constantinople after the restoration of icons in 843. Although in *PBE* I it is stated that he is the first attested *strategos* of Aigaion, it should be noted that Isaakios, the father of Theophanes the Confessor, is known to have been commander of the Aegean Sea almost a century before: Methodios, *Life of St Theophanes the Confessor* 5 (*BHG* 1787z), ed. B. LATYŠEV, *Mémoires de l’Académie imperiale des sciences de Russie*, ser. 8, 13.4 (St Petersburg 1918) 1-40, here 4.7; cf. MANGO and SCOTT, Theophanes, xlvii and n. 19).
S *ADSG* 253.31-34 and 258-259 (§§ 32 and 37); ed. PHOUNTOLIS pp. 50.4-12 and 54.18-19 (§§ 32 and 37): “... ὁ τῆς νήσου στρατηγὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ θρόνου ἀνάβασιν τε καὶ καθέδραν τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Γεωργίου ποιῆσαι βουλόμενος, διὰ κηρύκων τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐορτῇ τῆς Ὑψώσεως τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄφιξιν ἐπεκλήρυξεν ... ὃ τε στρατηγὸς καὶ ἡ τάξις ... ” and “ ... ἔνθεν τοι καὶ οἱ τοῦ κλήρου οἱ τε ἐν τέλει καὶ οἱ τῆς πολιτείας, ὃ τε στρατός, οὐδὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς τούτων ἀπολειπόμενος ... ”; Engl. tr.: Defenders of Images 233 and 240.
Bibl.: *PMBZ* 11633; *PBE*: Anonymous 268; OIKONOMIDES, Listes 47 and 353, n. 368: “stratège de la Mer Egée, qui fait son apparition en 843: à cette date un stratège est mentionné en fonction à Lesbos, île qui faisait sans doute partie du thème de la Mer Egée.”; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 108; Defenders of Images 233 n. 440.

168. Anonymous tax-collector of Lesbos

- D** 813
B A man entrusted with tax-collecting on Lesbos (τὰς τοῦ δημοσίου διέπων ἀρχάς) during the reign of Michael I (811-813); in the ninth year of St Georgios’ episcopate (804-813), he tried to interfere with those administering the finances of the bishopric of Mitylene. Not only did he harm the Church, but he also did not show any respect to those who sought asylum. This attitude forced Georgios to leave for Constantinople by the end of the reign of Michael I and ask the patriarch Nikephoros (806-815) to dismiss

him. However, the patriarch prompted the bishop Georgios to remain in the capital as he predicted the age of wrath that was to fall again upon the Church (i.e., Iconoclasm restored by Leon V).

S *vita* of Georgios of Mytilene 5, ed. PHOUNTOULIS pp. 35.17-36.14: text as in *Georgios of Mytilene* (no. 81).

Bibl.: *PMBZ* 11342.

169. Anonymous young boy taken prisoner

D 9th-10th c.

B A young boy (νεανίσκος) taken prisoner on Lesbos by the Cretan Arabs during the vigils on the feastday of St Georgios (23 April). The vigils were celebrated in the church of the saint which is styled as most glorious and renowned (ἐνδοξότατος καὶ περιφανής) and where every year a throng of people would gather. Aware of this celebration, the raiders attacked the islanders towards the evening and captured all who were inside and some from outside. They took all the captives to Crete, among them, a young boy whom they offered to the local emir. After a year, on St Georgios' feastday, his parents, who had never stopped praying to God, invited some guests to celebrate. Yet the mother of the young boy was left alone in the church and did not cease to entreat the saint to liberate her son. By the miraculous intervention of St Georgios, on the very moment the young boy was pouring wine to serve the emir on Crete, he found himself on Lesbos bearing the cup and offering wine to his mother. To the celebrants' astonishment, the boy confessed that all of a sudden, while he was filling up the cup for the emir, he was kidnapped by a most notable man (παρὰ ἀνδρός ... ἐνδοξοτάτου) who made him sit on his horse, one hand holding the cup and the other seizing him round the middle.

Though the text mentions Mytilene twice, the miracle is not necessarily set in the main town of the island. From two 14th-century patriarchal documents (nos 79 and 80) it is known that a church was dedicated to St Georgios, but its location cannot be specified.

The miracle can be plausibly associated with the period of raids by Cretan Arabs during the Muslim occupation of Crete (ca. 827-961). It bears many similarities to the *Miraculum* of St Nikolaos referring to a certain Basileios living in the vicinity of Myra in Lykia: *BHG* 1355, ed. in: ANRICH, Hagios Nikolaos, v. 1, 188.10-195.18 (§§ 5-19).

Among other representations, the miracle has been depicted on a mid-13th-century icon, now in the British Museum: St Georgios is seated on a white horse with his arm around a young boy sitting behind him and holding a cup full of wine. For the icon see London, Royal Academy of Arts, *From Byzantium to El Greco: Greek Frescoes and Icons*, ed. M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU. Athens 1987, 150-151, no. 9; and *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, ed. H. C. EVANS and W. D. WIXOM. New York 1997, 395, no. 261 (citing similar icons). See also ŠEVČENKO, *Life of Saint Nicholas*, 143-148 and pl. 3.15 and 3.16; CORMACK and MIHALARIAS, *Crusader Painting*; and DREWER, *Saints and their Families*, 259-260 and n. 7.

S *De iuvene Mytilenaeo capto* (*BHG* 691f), in: J.B. AUFHAUSER, ed., *Miracula S. Georgii*. Leipzig 1913 100-103 (after cod. *Vatic. gr.* 1190, f. 189^v); also in *SynaxCP* 623.53-625.54 (cod. *Coislinianus gr.* 223 [= Mc], ann. 1301): “Τὸ δὲ γινόμενον ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ πᾶσαν ἀκοὴν καὶ ἔννοιαν καταπλήττει. Ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ναός ἐστι τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου ἐνδοξότατος καὶ περιφανής· εἴωθεν οὖν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ ἁγίου πλήθος λαοῦ οὐκ ὀλίγον συνέρχεσθαι καὶ πανηγυρίζειν. Οἱ τῆς Κρήτης οὖν Ἀγαρηνοὶ τοῦτο μεμαθηκότες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πρὸς ἐσπέραν... τοὺς κατασχεθέντας ἀπήγαγον ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ. Ἐν οἷς καὶ νεανίσκος τις ἦν, ὃς ἀπεχαρίσθη τῷ ἀμῆρᾳ παρὰ τοῦ κατασχόντος αὐτὸν Ἀγαρηνοῦ. Χρόνου δὲ παραδραμόντος καὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς ἐπιστάσης τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου, ὁ μὲν νεανίσκος ἦν ἐξυπηρετῶν τῷ ἀμῆρᾳ, οἱ δὲ τούτου γονεῖς μηδὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει παρακλαπέντες μηδὲ ἀγνωμονήσαντες ἔνεκεν τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ Κύριον τὰς ἐλπίδας θέμενοι καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ εὐχαριστοῦντες ... τότε δὴ θεῖα νεύσει τερατούργημα γίνεται ὑπερφυῆς καὶ παράδοξον... ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ οἱ δαιτυμόνες, ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον εὐχαριστίᾳ κρατήρων μετασχεῖν ἔμελλον, αὐτῇ δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ὦν καὶ ἐγγέων οἶνον εἰς κύλικα καὶ τῷ ἀμῆρᾳ πόσιν ἐτοιμάζων ἤδη προσενεγκών, ... εὗρέθη ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ ἐν χειρὶ τὸν κύλικα φέρων καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐπιδιδούς ...” (extracts).

Bibl.: KRUMBACHER, Heilige Georg 300; POLITES, Δρακοντοκτονία 225-228; KAZHDAN, Notes 176-182; IMMERZEEL, Mounted Saints 276 and 280-281; MAZARAKIS, Προάστιο 344 (on the location of the church of Hagios Georgios).

170. Anonymous young women

D Uncertain.

B A group of five young women who suffered martyrdom by the sword. They are attested in a short entry of the *Synaxarion* as preserved in *Coislinianus* 223 (an. 1301). The date of the manuscript allows us to conjecture that they lived in the middle period. A brief mention is also reserved in the *Menaia* of Venice, published by Antonios Pinelis in Venice in 1604. They were commemorated on 5 April.

S a) SynaxCP 587.28 and 30: after *Coislinianus* 223 (Mc): “αἱ ἅγαι κόραι αἱ ἀπὸ Λέσβου ξίφει τελειοῦνται.”

b) *Menaia of April*, ed. ANTONIUS PINELIS. Venice 1604: “τῶν ἁγίων πέντε μαρτύρων νεανίδων τῶν ἀπὸ Λέσβου,” and “ἀθληφόρος τίθησι λεσβίας κόρας // μίαν δύο τρεῖς τέσσαρας πέμπε ξίφος.”

Bibl.: HALKIN, Un nouveau synaxaire byzantin 315.

III. THE LATE PERIOD: 1205-1355 A.D.

171. Andreas (Ἀνδρέας) [Paloumpas?]

D September, 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. He was the cousin of Thomas Paloumpas, the husband of Anna and the father of Demetrios; he owned an ox, sixteen sheep, two pigs, all valued at eight *kokkia*. It cannot be determined whether he was the paternal or maternal cousin of Thomas Paloumpas.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “...Ἀνδρέ(ας) ὁ ἐξά(δελφος) [αὐτοῦ? sc. Thomas Paloumpas], ἔχ(ει) Μαρ(ίαν), υἱὸν Δημήτριον, βοῖδ(ιον) α', πρόβ(α)τ(α) ις', χοί(ρους) β', τέλος κο(κκία) η'.”

172. Andreas, son of Thomas (Ἀνδρέας τοῦ Θωμᾶ)

D September, 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. Husband of Maria and owner of a property valued at two *kokkia*. He is likely to have been the son of Thomas Paloumpas.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155–156: “Ὁ Ἀνδρέ(ας) τοῦ Θωμᾶ, ἔχ(ει) Μαρ(ίαν), τέλος κο(κκία) β'.”

173. Andriotes (Ἀνδριώτης)

D September, 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Landowner mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

The localities mentioned in the document are otherwise unattested. On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “... χ(ωρά)φ(ια) εἰς τὸν Κακὸν Τάφον μοδ(ίων) δ’, εἰς τὸ Δάσ(ος) μοδ(ίων) β’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐξαλείμματο(ς) τοῦ Ἀνδριώτ(η), εἰς τὴν Ποταμίαν μο(δίου) α’ περὶ[ορ]ιζόμενον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιόρου τῆς μον(ῆς).”

Bibl.: *PLP* 91202.

174. Andronikos III Palaiologos (Ἀνδρόνικος Παλαιολόγος)

D 1335-1336

B Byzantine emperor (1328-1341); son of Michael IX Palaiologos and grandson of Andronikos II from whom he seized the throne in the civil war of 1321-1328. According to Gregoras, Lesbos was among the territories he aimed to detach from his grandfather once, as an ambitious young man, he decided to revolt against him (Gregoras VIII,1). Also in the autumn of 1330 (after he was sole emperor) he assembled a fleet consisting of triremes from Constantinople, Lesbos, other islands, coastal towns, and his ally the leader of the Venetians of Naxos (i.e., Niccolò Sanudo) nominally in order to attack the Turkish fleet, but in truth his target was Martino Zaccaria, the Genoese lord of Chios. His later expedition in 1335-1336 to recover Phokaia and Mytilene from the Genoese is recorded both in Gregoras and Kantakouzenos. According to the latter, when Andronikos heard that Domenico Cattaneo, the Genoese governor of Phokaia and until then his ally, suddenly conquered Mytilene and other parts of Lesbos, he prepared a fleet of 84 ships and protested to the Genoese of Galata for their cunning and thirst for rebellion. While sailing off Kallipolis in the Hellespont, the Byzantine convoy was noticed by the watchmen (σκοποί) of the Genoese ruler. Cattaneo prepared for a naval battle but the “Delians” (i.e., the Hospitallers of Rhodes), through their admiral, declared to him that they were not prepared to fight on such unequal terms and returned to their base. Realizing then that he could not confront the Byzantine fleet in a naval battle, Domenico and his companions decided, on the one hand, to send five triremes to the castle of Kallone to bring wheat and set up a garrison, and, on the other hand, to organize their defence in Mytilene. It was at Eresos that Andronikos first disembarked and praised its inhabitants for remaining faithful to him; after leaving a garrison, he sailed for Chios. However, in trying to identify him, the guard there revealed that some Latin triremes were stationed in Kallone, a piece of information that made Andronikos sail back to Lesbos in order to attack them. Avoiding the risk of an open confrontation, the “Latins” drew their ships ashore and hid in the adjacent forests. However, apart from some who, because of the dark, escaped notice and fled to Mytilene, they all were either killed or arrested by the Byzantines. Then Andronikos departed for Phokaia leaving the *pinkernes* Alexios Philanthropenos in command of the infantry and the cavalry and charged with the reconquest of the castle of Mytilene. The island’s main town was the only remaining source of resistance as, in the meantime, the defenders of the other castles of Lesbos had laid down their arms. While laying siege to Phokaia, the Byzantine emperor was able to obtain the assistance of the Turkish emir Saru-khan who held the part of Asia Minor east from Phokaia (i.e., Magnesia). His son Suleiman was taken as a hostage by Dounardo (i.e., Odoardo Tartaro), the Genoese defender of Phokaia. However, after five months of siege the walls of Phokaia and Mytilene proved unassailable. At that point, it was announced that the Genoese at Galata who had received 16 triremes from Genova were persuaded by Byzantine nobles plotting against the emperor to take another six ships from Mytilene and attack Andronikos in Phokaia. When the latter heard this, he began preparing for a naval battle and asked for further assistance from the Turks of Saru-khan and Umur of Aydin. A crucial role was then played by the *mezas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos, who had the “Latin” Juan de Spinia, an old friend of his, mediate for a peace settlement. Once the latter was dispatched to Mytilene, it did not take him long to obtain Cattaneo’s assent to give up the defence of the castle in exchange for the emperor’s pardon. The Genoese ruler also agreed to have all hostages freed if Andronikos granted him the rule of Phokaia. After handing over to Saru-khan his son and to other Turks their hostages, Andronikos returned to Constantinople.

A different account of events is given by Gregoras. Emphasis is placed on the revolt of the Genoese of Galata whom the successful campaign of Cattaneo made insolent and to whom the Byzantine emperor violently reacted. The conquest of Lesbos and other islands of the Aegean sea is presented as a common plan of the Rhodians and the Genoese of Phokaia as well as the Venetian governor of the Cyclades. Their

navy consisted of fifteen triremes, eight of which Cattaneo had bought from Genova, four belonged to the Rhodians, and three to the Venetians. The Genoese ruler conquered the castle of Mytilene, but not the rest of the island. Soon afterwards, both the Rhodians and the Venetians chose to leave him and return home. While preparing to campaign against Cattaneo, Andronikos faced the rebellion of the Genoese in Constantinople who entrenched themselves in the walls of Pera and proceeded to acts of sabotage against the Byzantine fleet. Yet, besieged by the emperor, they were forced to surrender after a resistance of seven days, mainly because of the reaction of their own people who could not endure the worsening famine. Having obtained their submission, Andronikos departed for Mytilene with his full fleet in early autumn when the north winds favored sailing south. When the Byzantine fleet was coming close, two of the seven ships of Cattaneo anchored in the port of Mytilene, whereas the remaining five ran ashore and were abandoned by their sailors. Some of them found refuge in Mytilene, whereas the others, having lost their way (ἀνοδία χρησάμενοι), were killed by the Lesbians. The five deserted ships full of weaponry and sea-provisions were brought to Chios in order to be equipped with crew and fighters. Taking advantage of the emperor's detour, Cattaneo improved his defence by bringing in a military force and a stock of provisions; he sent his two ships to Phokaia for more. Andronikos then proceeded to the siege of this town, having also the support of the adjacent Turkish leader who was also suffering considerable damage from the Latins. In the meantime, the long absence of the emperor from the palace raised thoughts of rebellion in some who aimed to kill his wife and son. The plot was intercepted by the mother of the *megas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos who managed to repress it before its outburst. With the coming of winter, the Genoese who were blockaded in Phokaia and despairing at their food supply asked the Rhodians to mediate so that the emperor would lift the siege. They straightaway freed the sons of the Turkish leader who were detained as hostages and assured that they would give Mytilene back to the emperor, admitting also that, as previously, they were still his subjects. Though initially willing to sail to Mytilene, Andronikos finally chose to return to Constantinople both on account of the rumors of rebellion and the fatigue of his fleet which was also suffering from the winter cold. Having treated all aspiring rebels leniently except for Asan's sons, whom he confined to a "humane" jail (ἐν ἀδέσμῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ ... εἰρκτῇ), Andronikos sent Alexios Philanthropenos to Lesbos to establish control over the government of the island and restore it to previous condition.

After Ioannes III Vatatzes, Andronikos III was the second emperor to set foot on the island not as an exile, but as a warrior.

- S a) Gregoras, *History* 8.1, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 p. 285.9-10: "... καὶ νῦν μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ὠνειροπόλει ἅτ' ἐκ μητρὸς αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν, νῦν δὲ Πελοπόννησον, νῦν δὲ Λέσβον καὶ Λήμνον καὶ ὅσαι τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Αἰγαίου πληροῦσιν ..."; German tr.: Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte*, v. 2.1 p. 22; also 9.9, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 p. 438.7-13: "... φθινοπώρου δ' ἱσταμένου συλλεξάμενος ὅσαι τριήρεις ἦσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Λέσβῳ καὶ ἄλλαις νήσοις καὶ παραλίοις πόλεσι καὶ πρὸς γε ἔτι ὅσαι μονήρεις, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύταις τέτταρας ἄλλας συμμαχίδας τριήρεις ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Κυκλάδων ἡγεμονεύοντος νήσων προσκαλεσάμενος ἀπέπλευσε, τῇ μὲν φήμῃ κατὰ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν νεῶν, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ κατὰ Μαρτίνου τοῦ τὴν Χίον ἐπιτροπεύοντος..."; German tr.: Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte*, v. 2.2 p. 227; also 11.1-2, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 527-534: "... ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρτίως ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τε τῆς Μιτυλήνης ἐπέθετο ἄλωσιν καὶ τούτους αὖ ἐγγύθεν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἑώρα θρασυνομένους καὶ ἐς τὰ πλείστα παρασπονδούντας, περιελθὼν αἰφνιδίως ἐνέπρησε τὰς περὶ τὸν λόφον μεγάλας καὶ ὄχυράς ἐκείνας οἰκίας αὐτῶν... ὅλον ἡσυχολημένον περὶ τὸν τῆς Μιτυλήνης ἀπόπλουν... Τοῦ γε μὴν ἔτους ἤδη μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολάς, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἀφθονώτερα τὰ ἀρκτικά πνεύματα ἐς τὴν κάτω χέονται θάλατταν, ἄρας ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πάσης τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἔπλει ἐς Μιτυλήνην. Αἱ δ' ἑπτὰ τοῦ Κατάνη τριήρεις τὴν Μιτυλήνην παραπλέουσai, πλείους ἢ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ἐπιούσας τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἑωρακυῖαι, αἱ μὲν δύο φθάσασai προσωρμίσθησαν τῷ τῆς Μιτυλήνης λιμένι, αἱ δὲ πέντε ἀπεγνωκυῖαι ἐς τὴν χέρσον ἐξώκειλαν καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀποθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἔφευγον· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἔδραμον εἰς τὴν Μιτυλήνην, οἱ δ' ἀνοδία χρησάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων... ἀδείας γὰρ ὁ Κατάνης λαβόμενος τὴν τε Μιτυλήνην ὡχυρώσατο καὶ πολλὴν εἰσήνεγκε δύναμιν στρατιωτικὴν καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθονωτέραν τῶν χρειωδῶν... δεδώκασai δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πίστει ἀσφαλεῖς ὑπὸ μάρτυσι τοῖς Ῥοδίοις, τὴν τε Μιτυλήνην ὅσον αὐτίκα ἀποδώσειν καὶ ὑπηκόους αὐτοὺς εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸ πρότερον αὐθις ἔθος καὶ τὴν πατρώαν συμφωνίαν. Καὶ οὕτως ἐκείθεν τὴν ναυτικὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβὼν δύναμιν ἐβουλήθη μὲν ποιήσασθαι τὸν κατάπλουν ἐς Μιτυλήνην... Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων συνήκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, πολὺ τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρειν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν Ἀλεξίου

Φιλανθρωπηνού, οὐ δὴ πολλαχῇ καὶ πολλάκις ἐμνήσθημεν ἔμπροσθεν, μετάμελον ἔσχεν ἤδη καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὐ μάλα μικρόν, ὅτι μὴ κάπῃ μάλα τοι πλείονα συγκεχώρηκε χρόνον αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν Λεσβίων διοίκησιν, καὶ ὅσαι κατὰ τὸν Αἰγαῖον νῆσοι Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοοι. Οὐτε γὰρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδείς ἂν Μιτυλήνην ἠνδραποδίζετο, οὐτ' ἐς τοσοῦτο ναυαγίων τὰ θαλάττης ἤλαυνε Ῥωμαίοις πράγματα. Ὅθεν αὐτὸν τὴν ταχίστην ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων αὐθις ἐπιτροπὴν ἀφικέσθαι προσετέταχαι..." (extracts); German tr.: Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte*, v. 2.2 pp. 276-280.

b) Kantakouzenos, *History* 2.29-31, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 476-495: "Βασιλεὺς δ' ἐκείθεν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην ἐλθὼν καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐνδιατρίψας, ἦκεν εἰς Βυζάντιον. Καὶ οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἠγγέλλετο, ὡς Δομένικος ὁ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Κατάνια, ὃς τῆς νέας Φωκαίας ἦρχε, βασιλέως παραδόντος κατὰ χάριν, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ ἀποθανόντος, ... Λέσβον διανοηθεῖν Ῥωμαίων ἀφελόμενος, ἰδίαν ἑαυτῷ περιποιήσασθαι ἡγεμονίαν, μίαν καὶ δέκα ἐκ Γεννούας οἰκείους χρήμασι πληρώσας τριήρεις καὶ ἐκ Σικελίας μίαν προσεταιρισάμενος Δηλίους τε πείσας πέντε παρασχεῖν, ἀκηρύκτως ἐπέπλευσε Λεσβίοις. Καὶ Μιτυληναίους μὲν εἶλε τειχομαχίᾳ, ἀπαρασκευοῖς προσπεσὼν καὶ καταπλήξας τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φρουρίων συμπάντων ὅσα ἦν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον· Ἐρεσσὸν δὲ καὶ Μηθίμνης ἀπεπείρασαν μὲν, ἦττους δὲ ὀφθέντες τῶν τειχῶν ἀπέσχοντο, καὶ νῦν ταῦτα μόνα τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα εὐνοίαν καὶ δουλείαν ἀποσώζει. ... Καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντα παρεσκευασμένα ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνέδει ἔτι, ἄραντες ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβον. Γενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν Καλλιούπολιν τὴν πρὸς Ἑλλήσποντον, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέσβου τῶν Λατίνων σκοποὶ οἱ παρήσαν αὐτόθι μακρᾷ νηὶ ταχυναυτοῦση, φυλάσσοντες τὴν βασιλέως ἔφοδον πρότεροι ἐλθόντες διὰ τε ταχυτήτα τῆς νηὸς καὶ τὸ μάλιστα ἐπισπεύδειν τὸν πλοῦν, ἐμῆνυον βασιλέως τὸν ἐπίπλουν ὡς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐσόμενον. Ἐκείνοις δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὴ εἰδόσι τῶν βασιλικῶν νεῶν, ἐδόκει μαχητέα πρὸς βασιλέα εἶναι· καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχίησιν. .. βασιλεὺς δὲ ἅμα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἦλθεν εἰς Ἐρεσσόν· ἐπαινέσας δὲ Ἐρεσσίου τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἕνεκα, καὶ προνοίας ὅσης ἐδέοντο ἀξιώσας, ἄρας ἐκείθεν ἔπλει ἐπὶ Χίον. Ἀπὸ σκοπίας δὲ τις μεγαβῶν ἐπυνθάνετο περὶ στόλου ὧτων εἶη. Ἀποκριναμένων δέ, ὡς εἶη βασιλέως, αὐτός τε πάρεστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς. «Αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῆς Καλλονῆς» ἔφη «τριήρεις τίνες;» ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δὲ συνεῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν εἰς Μιτυλήνην οὐσῶν εἶναι φρουρούσας Καλλονήν, ἀναστρέψας ἤλαυνεν ἐπ' ἐκείνους. Ἦδη δὲ ἐπελάβετο ἡ νύξ. Λατίνοι δὲ ὡς εἶδον βασιλέα προσελαύνοντα, τό τε φεύγειν ἄπορον ὁρῶντες, καὶ τὸ διαγωνίζεσθαι ἀδύνατον, ἐξῶσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰς ναῦς, καὶ αὐτοὶ κατεκρύβησαν ὑπὸ τὴν ὕλην, συνηρεφούς τοῦ τόπου πεφυκότος, ἅμα δὲ συνεργούντος καὶ τοῦ σκότους. Καὶ τὰς μὲν τριήρεις εἰλκυσαν κενὰς οἱ βασιλικοί. Ἀποβάντες τε καὶ διερευνησάμενοι τὴν λόχμην, ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἶλον ζῶντας. Ὅσοι δὲ ὑπὸ σκότος ἠδυνήθησαν διαφυγεῖν, εἰς Μιτυλήνην διεσώθησαν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους. Βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐκεῖ πιγκέρνην τὸν Φιλανθρωπηνὸν καταλιπὼν ἅμα στρατιᾷ πεζῇ τε καὶ ἰππικῇ τὴν Μιτυλήνην πολιορκεῖν, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Φώκαιαν, ἧς ἦρχε τῷ τότε Ντουνάρδος. Οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς Λέσβον καταλειφθέντες τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ φρούρια πάντα παρεστήσαντο ὁμολογίᾳ, Μιτυλήνην δὲ ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ περικαθήμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. Βασιλεὺς δὲ πρεσβείαν πρὸς Σαρχάνην πέμψας, ὃς ἦρχε τῆς ἑω κατὰ τὴν Φώκαιαν, σπονδὰς ἔθετο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ὥστε Σαρχάνην μὲν ἐπικουρίαν βασιλεῖ παρασχεῖν πεζὴν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν πρὸς τὴν τῆς Φωκαίας καὶ Μιτυλήνης πολιορκίαν,... Πέμπτος μὲν οὖν ἠνύετο μὴν Φωκαέων καὶ Μιτυληναίων πολιορκουμένων, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὴν Φώκαιαν συχναί τε καὶ καρτεραί ἐγίνοντο τειχομαχίαι καὶ ἐλεπόλεις προσήγοντο καὶ ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ πρὸς ἄλωσιν πόλεων ἐξευρημένα. ... ἠγγέλλετο ἐκ Βυζαντίου βασιλεῖ ὡς ἐκ Γεννούας κατὰ τινα ἐτέραν χρεῖαν τριήρεις ἐκκαίδεκα προσέσχον Γαλατᾷ, ὧν τῷ ναυάρχῳ καὶ τοῖς τριηράρχαις τινὲς τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιφανῶν κρύφα διαλεχθέντες, ἔπεισαν δώροις καὶ ὑποσχέσει πολλαῖς προσεταιρισμένους καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐξ αἱ εἰσιν ἐγχώριοι, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Μιτυλήνην ἐξ παραλαβόντας, ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Φώκαιαν... καὶ αὐτῶν Μιτυλήνην παραδόντων βασιλεῖ, ἐκβληθέντων τῶν φρουρῶν· ...αὐτὸς εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀπέπλευσε, Λέσβον ὑπὸ Λατίνοις ἤδη γεγεννημένην Ῥωμαίοις ἀνασώσας." (extracts); German tr.: Kantakouzenos, *Geschichte*, v. 2 pp. 108-120.

Related source: SCHREINER, *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I 8/29 (p. 80).

Bibl.: *PLP* 21437; *EPLBHC* II 184-186; DELIS, Γατελοῦχοι 15-24; PARISOT, Cantacuzène 131-133; LEMERLE, Aydin 108-111; LOENERTZ, La chronique brève 41 55-56; BOSCH, Andronikos III. Palaiologos 129-132; SCHMALZBAUER, Prosopographie 146; VISMARA, Le relazioni dell'impero 210-221; NICOL, Kantakouzenos 42; IDEM, Last Centuries, 179-180; BALARD, Roumanie, 72-73, 171, 186-188; SCHREINER, *Geschichte Philadelphieas* 398-401, 418-422; IDEM, *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* XII/2 246-247; KODER, Aigaion 162; Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte* v. 2.2 358-376; Kantakouzenos, *Geschichte* v. 2 223-232.

175. Anna, wife of Panagiotēs (Ἀννα)

D September, 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Wife of Panagiotēs (no. 256). She is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: "...[Ο] Παναγιώτ(ης), ἔχ(ει) Ἀνναν, αἰγίδα δ', τέλος κο(κία) β'."

176. Asanes (Ἀσάνου)?

D Late period?

B This name comes from a possible reading of a monogram walled in the chapel of Sts Theodoroi (northern wall) at Pyrgoi Thermes. For the reading of the inscription the editor proposed ναοῦ σου, which makes no sense for a monogram, but Grégoire suggested the reading Ἀσάνου. The family name Asanes was a well-known one and not uncommon in the area of NE Aegean (see next entry).

S PAPAGEORGIU, Inschriften 11, no. 37, "in marmore fusco, ut videtur, integro" [= GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil*, no. 156bis (p. 55)]:

OY
N + C
A

Bibl.: *ODB* 202; on the family and the name of Asanai see KREKIĆ, *Asanès* 347-355; TRAPP, *Asanen* 163-177; ASDRACHA, *Inscriptions I* 274-275.

177. Asanes Michael Komnenos Tornikes Palaiologos (Ἀσάν Μιχαήλ)

D Between 1342 and 1355

B Son of the army commander Konstantinos Asanes Palaiologos. He is referred to as governor of Lesbos, "appointed by the emperor," in a funerary poem commissioned by his wife Eirene and composed by Nikephoros Gregoras. He must have held this post after 1342, the year when he was imprisoned along with his father by the *meas doux* Alexios Apokaukos in Constantinople, and before 1355, when the island passed into the hands of Francesco Gattilusio. From the poem it can be inferred that he died at a young age.

S MERCATI, *Poesie di Niceforo Gregora* 95, v. 21-22 (= *Collectanea byzantina* v. 1 149): "καί σφεας ἄγω νήσου ἐκ Λέσβου νέκυας // τῆς ἡγεῖτο πόσις τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὄροις."

Related sources: a) Kantakouzenos, *History* 1.52, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 p. 260.23-24 and 3.55, ed. IDEM v. 2 336.12; b) DELEHAYE, *Deux Typica* 13: "Μιχαήλ Κομνηνὸς Τορνίκης Ἀσάνης Παλαιολόγος καὶ γαμπρὸς τῆς κτητορίσσης."

Bibl.: *PLP* 1513; *ODB* 202; on the family and the name of Asanai see KREKIĆ, *Asanès* 347-355; TRAPP, *Asanen* 166-170; ASDRACHA, *Inscriptions I* 274-275.

178. [Asanina] Eirene (Εἰρήνη)

D Between 1342 and 1355

B Daughter of Ioannes Synadenos and Thomais Kantakouzene; wife of Michael Asanes, governor of Lesbos. Her name appears in the title of a funerary poem that she commissioned from Nikephoros Gregoras. Their marriage produced a daughter who must have died at a very young age.

S MERCATI, *Poesie di Niceforo Gregora* (= *Collectanea byzantina* v. 1 148): tit.: "στίχοι ἠρωελεγεῖοι εἰς τὸν τάφον Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ἀσάν, ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Εἰρήνης τοῦ θανόντος συζύγου."; cf. 149, v. 21-22.: "καί σφεας ἄγω νήσου ἐκ Λέσβου νέκυας // τῆς ἡγεῖτο π ὁ σ ι ς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὄροις."

Bibl.: *PLP* 1527; NICOL, Katakouzenos 149-151 and plate 4; KREKIĆ, Asanès 347-355; HANNICK and SCHMALZBAUER, Synadenoi 141; SPATHARAKIS, Illuminated Manuscripts pl. 151.

179. Balarides (Βαλαριδ(ης))

D September, 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A person (or a toponym?) attested in the left margin of the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos; apart from an association with a swamp, no other element of his identity can be determined.

Note that in the document the name is printed with no accent. On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “... τοῦ Κρεββατ(ᾶ), εἰς τὸ μικρ(ὸν) βάλτ(ον) (καὶ) εἰς τὸν Βαλαριδ(ην) (καὶ) μυλοτόπιον ὁ Μαλεάδης.”

180. de Begali, Iohannes

D 20 Sept. 1334

B Together with Ianotus de Rollando, he testified to the act whereby Anthonius Gainfia de Finali proclaimed as procurator Rinaldo de Portu, civilian of Rhodes.

S BALLETO, Genova no. 11 (p. 173): “Actum in portu Meteli<ni>, anno dominice Nativitatis MCCCXXXIII, indictione prima, die XX septembris, ora vespas. Testes Ianotus de Rollando, Iohannes de Begali.”

181. Bestarches (Βεστάρχης)

D Early 14th c. (before 1315)

B Patriarchal exarch who administered the metropolitan see of Mytilene for a period during which the latter was vacant. In patriarchal acts 79 and 80 he is said to have perpetrated a forgery by erasing the letters inscribed on the altar of the *katholikon* of the monastery of St Michael Akronesiotes at Basilika. The inscription declared that the monastery in question was subject to the metropolitan of Mytilene and not, as the representatives of the *metochia* of the monastery of Hosios Georgios maintained, to the patriarch of Constantinople. This occurred long before the 19th of September, 1324, the date when the patriarchal synod judged this case in favor of Dionysios, metropolitan of Mytilene. Both the vacancy referred to in the document and Bestarches' scheming date from before 1315, when Dionysios is first documented to have occupied the throne of Mytilene.

As first pointed out by Darrouzès, Bestarches is a last name, not an office; cf. names in *PLP* 2685-2689. Manuel Bestarches was a priest and scribe in the region of Smyrne; see *MM* IV 228 and SARADI, Notariat 243. Also Niketas Bestarches was a priest on Chios; see *PRK* I 184, act no. 13.2-3 (dating from 1315) and cf. DARROUZÈS, Regestes 2042.

S *PRK* I 466 and 474, acts nos. 79 and 80 (= *MM* I 114 and 117): “ὁ Βεστάρχης ἐκεῖνος, ἐγκρατὴς τῶν δικαίων αὐτῆς εὐρισκόμενος, γραμμάτων ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦδε τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀκρονησιώτου ἐπιγεγραμμένων πρὸ τοῦ τείχους αὐτοῦ καὶ δηλούντων ἐναργῶς ὑποκείμενον εἶναι τοῦτον τῇδε τῇ ἀγνωτᾷ μητροπόλει δόλῳ καὶ ῥαδιουργίᾳ χρησάμενος ἀπήλειψε καὶ ἀπέξεσε ταῦτα” and “ὁ Βεστάρχης ἐκεῖνος πατριαρχικῇ προτροπῇ τὰ κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην μητρόπολιν ἀρχιερέως χηρεύουσιν διοικῶν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τοῦ τοιούτου μονυδρίου ἀναγεγραμμένα γράμματα, δι’ ὧν ἐδηλοῦτο ἀριδῆλως τῆς μητροπόλεως εἶναι τὸ μονύδριον τόδε, ἠφάνισέ τε καὶ ἀπήλειψε παντελῶς.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 2684; DARROUZÈS, Regestes 2117-2118; MOUTZOURES, Τὰ χαριστικά 87-92.

182. Blemmydes Nikephoros (Βλεμμύδης Νικηφόρος)**D** 1231 (?)

B Writer, teacher, cleric, and monk (1197/8-1271/3). Son of a physician who had to depart from Latin-occupied Constantinople to Prousa and then to Nikaia. Nikephoros studied in different places (Nikaia, Smyrne, Nymphaion, Skamandros). His ecclesiastical career comprised the offices of *anagnostes*, deacon, and *logothetes*, all conferred upon him by the patriarch Germanos II. In ca. 1230, following his escape from an attempt on his life, he was sent to Nymphaion by the patriarch and the synod. His mission was to check on the mores of the clergy; he found a married monk whom, he eventually managed to restore to his previous order. After much time, his pursuit of academic activity was in demand, so he asked the patriarch to appoint a bishop there to enable him to continue his studies. The patriarch finally granted him freedom. Blemmydes then left for Lesbos looking for a place of quietude. However, upon learning this, the patriarch sent him a letter asking him to return and threatening him with penance if he disobeyed. Blemmydes then returned to Nikaia where he was warmly received. The rest of his life was closely associated with the monastic vocation that he embraced shortly thereafter.

Blemmydes' journey to Lesbos is documented only in the first redaction of his autobiography that was completed in May 1264.

S Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Autobiographia* 1.35.11-14, ed. MUNITIZ p. 20: “... ἐκπεραίνει μόλις τὸ ἡμῖν καταθύμιον, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐς Λέσβον, ἀναδιψήσεως εἵνεκα τόπων ἡσυχίας, ἀπαίρομεν· ὃ γνούς, ἐπιπέμπει μετακλήσεως ἡμῖν ἐπιστόλιον, μὴ πεπεισμένοις, ἐπιτίμησιν διαπειλησάμενος. Καὶ πάλιν ἡ Νικαέων, τοὺς ἀλλαχόσε τρέχοντας δέχεται ...”; Engl. tr.: Nikephoros Blemmydes, *A Partial Account* 63.

Bibl.: PLP 2897; ODB 296; EPLBHC V 114-118; LAURENT, *Regestes* 1246; MELIARAKES, *Ἱστορία* 291; CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education* 13; HINTERBERGER, *Autobiographische Traditionen* 363-366.

183. Cancellieri Federico**D** 10 February 1346

B A military commander under whose orders 100 men from Pistoia (Toscana, Italy) fought victoriously against the Turks on Lesbos at the side of Humbert of Viennois.

This detail and the whole story, based on the account of a chronicler from Pistoia, have rightly been refuted as not real (see also *Humbert, dauphin of Viennois*).

S *Storie Pistoiesi* 135, ed. BARBI p. 220: “... In questa battaglia fue Federico di Tici di messer Lotto de' Canciglieri da Pistoia; il quale fue capitano di cento fanti tra di Pistoia e d'altronde sotto la bandiera a scacchi cioè l'arme del suo comune di Pistoia” (full text as in *Humbert, dauphin of Viennois*).

Bibl.: SETTON, *Papacy* 204-205.

184. Cattaneo Domenico, olim de Volta (Κατάνιας, Κατάνης Δομένικος)**D** 1333 (or 1334)-1336

B Genoese lord of Phokaia; son of Andreolo (1322/23-1331), the founder of Nea Phokaia, he took over the government of both towns after the death of his father in 1331. According to Kantakouzenos, wealth increased his ambitions and led him to break his alliance with the Byzantine emperor. Towards the end of 1333 or the beginning of 1334, with ships hired out from Genova, Sicily, and Rhodes, he attacked Mytilene without any warning. Domenico conquered the town of Mytilene and a good part of the island. On the contrary, his siege of Eresos and Methymna proved fruitless. Upon hearing from his watchmen in Kallipolis in the Hellespont that the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III, at the head of a convoy of 84 ships, was sailing against him, he prepared for a naval battle. However, his ally, the admiral of the Duchy of Naxos, decided to return back home. Realizing that it was indeed impossible to confront the Byzantine fleet in the open sea, Domenico decided to send five triremes in support of the castle of Kallone, bring in some wheat and set up a garrison. As it turned out, most of his men at Kallone were killed or fell into the

hands of the Byzantines; only a few managed to reach Mytilene and find refuge in its castle. The island's main town remained the only place to resist the Byzantine forces fighting under the leadership of the *pinkernes* Alexios Philanthropenos. In the meantime, Andronikos III besieged Phokaia, the defence of which was entrusted to Dounardo (i.e., Odoardo Tartaro). Despite the fact that the Byzantines were supported by the Turkish emirs Saru-khan and Umur, both towns held out for five months. It was after the intervention of the *megas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos and the "Latin" Juan de Spinia, an old friend of his and a citizen of Phokaia, that the crisis was resolved. The latter was dispatched to Mytilene and obtained Cattaneo's promise to give up the defence of the castle in return for the emperor's pardon. Cattaneo was bound to set free the Turkish hostages, but he would continue to have the government of Phokaia.

In the account of Gregoras it was only by fraud and deceit that Cattaneo managed to penetrate the castle of Mytilene, whereas the rest of the island resisted his naval enterprise undertaken jointly with the Hospitallers of Rhodes and the Venetians of the Duchy of Naxos. Their fleet consisted of fifteen triremes, eight of which Cattaneo had bought from Genova, whereas four belonged to the Rhodians and three to the Venetians. However, the Western allies did not manage to conquer the island. Cattaneo had the local inhabitants expelled and brought in his family from Phokaia. As he foresaw the Byzantine emperor's reaction, he preferred to organize a good defence in Mytilene rather than fulfill his other commitments. On this account both the Rhodians and the Venetians chose to leave him and return home. Meanwhile, Cattaneo's hostile activity against Byzantium incited rebellion among the Genoese of Pera, but it did not take Andronikos III long to repress it and prepare his naval campaign to recover Mytilene. In early autumn, as the Byzantine fleet was sailing past, two of the seven ships of Cattaneo anchored in the port of Mytilene, whereas the remaining five ran ashore and were abandoned by their sailors. Some of them found refuge in Mytilene, whereas the others, having lost their way (*ἀνοδία χρησάμενοι*), were killed by the Lesbians. The five deserted ships full of weaponry and sea-provisions were brought to Chios in order to be equipped with crew and fighters. Taking advantage of the emperor's detour, Cattaneo improved his defences by bringing in a military force and a stock of provisions; for the same purpose he sent his two ships to Phokaia for more. Andronikos then proceeded to besiege this town with the support of the nearby Turkish leader. With the coming of winter, the Genoese who were holding out in Phokaia and in a state of despair mostly because of the dwindling food supply asked the Hospitallers of Rhodes to mediate so that the emperor would lift the siege. Moreover, they straightaway freed the sons of the Turkish leader who were detained as hostages and gave assurance that they would give Mytilene back to the emperor, declaring also that, as previously, they were still his subjects.

From the accounts of Kantakouzenos and Gregoras, the rule of Cattaneo on Lesbos seems to have lasted for only some months. However, the document of the *notarios* Anthonius Gainfia de Finali, signed in Mytilene on 20 September 1334, may indicate a longer Genoese presence on the island, no doubt following Cattaneo's conquest of the capital. ZACHARIADOU, *Trade and Crusade*, 38 n. 147, therefore placed his campaign in late 1333 or early 1334. Additional support for this suggestion may be drawn from the fact that, during his period of domination of Mytilene, Domenico issued his own coinage with the inscription "ΔΕCΡ(ΟΤΗC) Μ(ΥΤΙΛΗΝΗC) ΔΟΜΙ(ΝΙΚΟC) (CΑΤΤΑ)ΝΕΟ." Nonetheless, the assumption that the presence of a Genoese *notarios* on Lesbos was a temporary one cannot be ruled out as Italian merchants often traveled with the escort of a *notarios*.

- S a) Kantakouzenos, *History* 2.29-30, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1, pp. 476-495): "...Δομένικος ὁ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Κατάνια, ὃς τῆς νέας Φωκαίας ἦρχε, βασιλέως παραδόντος κατὰ χάριν, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ ἀποθανόντος, κληρονόμος τῆς οὐσίας καταστάς, (πλούσιος δὲ ἦν) τοῖς χρήμασι φυσηθεῖς, Λέσβον διανοηθεὶς Ῥωμαίων ἀφελόμενος, ἰδίαν ἑαυτῷ περιποιήσασθαι ἡγεμονίαν, μίαν καὶ δέκα ἐκ Γεννοῦας οἰκείοις χρήμασι πληρώσας τριῆρεις καὶ ἐκ Σικελίας μίαν προσεταιρισάμενος Δηλίου τε πείσας πέντε παρασχεῖν, ἀκηρύκτως ἐπέπλευσε Λεσβίοις. Καὶ Μιτυληναίοις μὲν εἶλε τειχομαχίαν, ἀπαρασκεύοις προσπεσὼν καὶ καταπλήξας τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ· ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φρουρίων συμπτάντων ὅσα ἦν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον· Ἐρεσσοῦ δὲ καὶ Μηθύμνης ἀπεπείρασαν μὲν, ἥττους δὲ ὀφθέντες τῶν τειχῶν ἀπέσχοντο, καὶ νῦν ταῦτα μόνον τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα εὐνοίαν καὶ δουλείαν ἀποσώζει..." (extracts); German tr.: Kantakuzenos, *Geschichte*, v. 2, pp. 108-120.

b) Gregoras, *History* 22.1-2, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 525-535: text as in *Andronikos III Palaiologos*; German tr.: Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte*, v. 2.2, pp. 275-280.

c) Chalkokondyles, *History* 10, ed. DARKÓ p. 269.10-15: "...δοκεῖ ἡ νῆσος αὕτη καὶ πρότερον ἔτι τούτων τῶν Κατελουϊζων γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἰανυίοις, καὶ ὑπακούειν τότε τῷ Φωκαίῃς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπιτροπεύοντι, Κατάνη τοῦνομα ἔχοντι· εἶλε δὲ Κατάνης τὴν νῆσον ταύτην ἐπιβουλῇ. Καὶ ὁ τε Ἑλλήνων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τε Μιτυλήνην παρεστήσατο καὶ ἐπολέμει τῇ Φωκαίῃ ..."

Related source: a short chronicle edited by GORJANOV, Neizdannij 284, vv. 104-107.

Bibl.: PLP 11446; DELIS, Γατελοῦζοι 15-24; SCHMALZBAUER, Prosopographie 99; BALARD, *Romanie* 72-73, 171, 186-188; Gregoras, *Rhömäische Geschichte* v. 2.2 371-372; KOFOPOULOS and MAZARAKIS, Cattaneo 303-318; NICOL, *Last Centuries* 179-180; IDEM, *Byzantium and Venice* 256; ZACHARIADOU, *Trade and Crusade* 38-39.

185. Chabaronissa (Χαβαρώνισσα)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A widow attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. Her property valued at two *kokkia*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: "χήρ(α) ἡ Χαβαρώνισσα, τέλος κο(κκία) β'."

Bibl.: PLP 30335.

186. Cholos Manuel (Χωλὸς Μανουήλ)

D 1288 or 1317

B A merchant from Smyrne and inhabitant of Mytilene. It was at his home that Georgios Zacharias found lodgings for one night along with five monks who were journeying from Philadelpheia in Lydia to Thessalonike. The next morning Cholos accused the men whom he had hosted of having stolen five pigs (μοχθηρά) from his courtyard. Seeing that their host was willing to take them to court, the monks collected two *hyperpyra* and paid him back; they were thus able to quell his aggressive feelings. However, after more than ten years, Cholos, accompanied by the Venetian consul Sir Amanati, came to the place (ἐνταῦθα) where the act was drawn up and after he met and recognized Zacharias, he denounced him before the judges Ioannes Alyates, Georgios Branas, Tzimpinos, Alexios Somanes and a certain Theodoros.

Schreiner hypothesized that Cholos was a subject (*Untertan*) of the Byzantine empire, yet active for the interests of Venice on the island; also, that the act was compiled in Philadelpheia. Nonetheless, Oikonomidès rightly suggested that the case was judged most probably in Thessalonike, not Philadelpheia. Depending on how the toponym Mytilene is interpreted, the house of Cholos was located in the town itself or elsewhere on the island.

The document that records the aforementioned case has been recorded in codex *Vaticanus gr.* 92, f. 203^v-204. It is no more than a court protocol which, however, is preserved incomplete. The document is dated to a September of the 11th indiction, which is identifiable with the years 1268, 1283, 1298, and 1313. As noted in the text, the dispute was no fewer than ten years old. Rejecting the other three dates for various reasons, Schreiner, unaware of the original edition, opted for the year 1298, meaning thus that the episode in Mytilene occurred in 1288. Conversely, the first editor, Lindstam, identified the 11th indiction with the years 1267, 1282, 1297, 1312, 1327, and 1342. On paleographical grounds he opted for the year 1327, inferring thus that the episode in Mytilene occurred in ca. 1317.

S LINDSTAM, *Ett i Mitylene* 47-48; independent ed. by SCHREINER, *Venezianische Kolonie* 340-341: "...μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ἑνδεκάτης παρουσίᾳ τοῦ πανσεβάστου σεβαστοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Ἀλυάτου· τοῦ Βρανᾶ κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Τζυμπίνου κυροῦ..., + Ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Φιλαδελφείας Γεώργιος ὁ Ζαχαρίας, ἐκ τοιαύτης πόλεως ὡς Θεσσαλονίκην πορείαν ποιούμενος συνοδίταις τε χρώμενος μοναχοῖς τισι πέντε ἀρετῆς καὶ πνευματικῆς καταστάσεως ἐξεχομένοις, ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν Μιτυλήνην ἐγένοντο, δεῖσαν καταλῦσαι πού αὐτούς, κατέλυσαν ἐν οἰκίᾳ πραγματευτοῦ τινος Μανουήλ Χωλοῦ τοῦ Σμυρναίου, ὃς καὶ εἰς Βενέτικον τέτακται, ἐξ οὗ πάντα τὰ εἰς χρεῖαν τροφῆς αὐτῶν ἐξωνησάμενοι καὶ διατραφέντες ὑπεδέχθησαν παρ' ἐκείνου, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐκείνην ἐν τῇ ἐκείνου αὐλῇ διαβιβάσωσιν. Πρωίας

τοίνυν ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης διαναστὰς οὐκ ὀλίγην αὐτοῖς ἐπήγαγεν ὄχλησιν, μοχθηρὰ λέγων χαῶσαι πολλῆς τιμῆς ὄντα ἄξια, διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς τὴν αὐλὴν ἀνοῖξαι παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς κρίσιν καθέλξειν αὐτοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενος. Ὅθεν οἱ μοναχοί, ὡς εὐλαβεῖα καὶ συνέσει πνευματικῇ συζῶντες καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χιτώνιον κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν προσέθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰ μόνον τῶν ὀχλήσεων ἔξω γένωνται, ἄλλως τε καὶ πτοηθέντες διὰ τὸ τὴν κρίσιν ... συνερανισάμενοι κατ' ὀλίγον ἔκ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν κοσμικῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπέρπερα δύο τῷ ῥηθέντι οἰκοδεσπότη *<Χωλῶ>* τῷ Σμυρναίῳ δεδώκασιν καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν τῆς καθ' ἑαυτῶν κατεσίγασαν ἐπιθέσεως. Χρόνων ἤδη ἔκτοτε παρωχηκότων δέκα καὶ ἐπέκεινα νῦν ὁ δηλωθεὶς Σμυρναῖος ὁ Χωλὸς ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος καὶ τὸν διαληφθέντα Φιλαδελφινὸν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν ἰδὼν καὶ ἀναγνωρίσας ἔγκλησιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατ' αὐτὸν *<ἐποίη>*σατο, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν τῶν Βενετῶν κόνσουλόν Συραμανάτον..." (cited from LINDSTAM'S edition).

Bibl.: *PLP* 31216; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Hommes d'affaires* 126 n. 296; JACOBY, *Les Vénitiens naturalisés* 224 n. 64; MATSCHKE and TINNEFELD, *Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz* 121.

187. Choniates Nikephoros (Χωνιάτης Νικηφόρος)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. He was the husband of Maria, the father of Georgios and owner of an ox, sheep, pigs, and pigs all valued at nine *kokkia*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: "Νικηφόρος ὁ Χωνιάτ(ης), ἔχ(ει) Μαρ(ίαν), υἱ[ὸν] Γεώργιον, βοῖδ(ιον) α', πρόβ(α)τ(α) [·χοί]ρ[ους], τέλος κο(κκία) ἐννέα."

Bibl.: *PLP* 31242.

188. Constancius de Mothone

D 6 May 1321

B A merchant who originated from Methoni but was a resident (*habitor*) of Lesbos. His name appears in a notarial document of the Venetian Donato Fontanella, dated 6 May 1321. By virtue of an agreement made with Hemanuel Maçamardi and Marcus Avonale, both residents of Candia, Crete, Constancius had to engage his boat in their service for the six months to follow. In exchange, the aforementioned persons had to supply all of the merchandise and travel with him. In case the terms of the agreement were not fulfilled, a penalty of a hundred *hyperpyra* would have been applied to either party.

S *Documents of Angelo de Cartura and Donato Fontanella*, 233 (no. 28): "Eodem die Manifestum facimus nos Constancius de Mothone habitator Mitelini et Hemanuel Maçamardi et Marcus Avonale ambo habitatores Candide cum nostris heredibus precisum quia ad talem devenimus concordiam. Videlicet quod ego suprascriptus Constancius ponere debeo meam barcham et cum ipsa venire partier ad eundum et redeundum viatico ubi Deo placuerit usque ad menses sex proximos venturos, et in dicta barcha non debeo facere nec tractare aliquid sine vestris consensu et voluntate. Vos vero suprascripsit Hemanuel et Marcus tenemini dare in viamentum dicte mee barche ad faciendum ipsum viaticum super ipsa astendere et venire ad faciendum dictum viaticum pariter mecum suprascripto Constancio. Si quam igitur, pena yperperorum centum qui contrafecerit contra qualem non devenire debeat in observante et volente observare suprascripta. Testes magister Bonacursius de Fregano et Nicolaus Manduga notarius ..."

189. Demetrios Eirenikos metropolitan of Mytilene (Δημήτριος)

D 1285

B One of the 41 prelates who participated in the second council summoned at Blachernai by the emperor Andronikos II and the patriarch Gregorios of Cyprus (July-August 1285); he signed the *Tomos* against the patriarch Ioannes Bekkos (1275-1282). On 15 June of 1285 in the palace of Blachernai, the Venetian

envoys Angelo Marcello and Marco Zeno signed a treaty between their city and Byzantium with the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos. Demetrios was designated an imperial envoy (nuncius) and witnessed the oath of the Venetian doge Giovanni Dandolo on 28 July of the same year, which means that he must have traveled to Venice for that purpose.

The Eirenikoi were a well-known family of the 12th and 13th centuries. Their most famous member was Theodoros Eirenikos, an intellectual active in the empire of Nikaia who was first appointed by Theodoros I Laskaris to the office of *hypatos ton philosophon* (Consul of Philosophers) and was then elevated to the patriarchal throne (1214-1216).

S a) LAURENT, Synode des Blachernes 146 (no. 15): “ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης καὶ ὑπέρτιμος Δημήτριος ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα.”

b) POZZA and RAVEGNANI, I trattati con Bisanzio 146 (the emperor's version): “presentibus nunciis nostris, sacratissimo videlicet metropolita Mitilinesi, ypertimo domino Dimitrio Yrinico”; 164 (the doge's version): “presentibus transmissis nuntiis ab ipso excellentissimo imperatore ad nos, videlicet sacratissimo metropolitano Metholinensi ypertimo domino Demitrio Hermico.”

Bibl.: PLP 5294; GRUMEL, Titulature 169-171 and 180; LAURENT, Faux de la diplomatie patriarcale 151. For the treaty of 1282, see POZZA and RAVEGNANI, I trattati con Bisanzio 127-165; NICOL, Byzantium and Venice 213-216; LAIOU, Andronikos II 59, 62. Also CONSTANTINIDES, Higher Education 114-115 (on Theodoros Eirenikos); STAVRAKOS, Siegel 171-172.

190. Demetrios, son of Andreas [Paloumpas?] (Δημήτριος)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Son of Andreas, cousin of Thomas Paloumpas, a *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “Ἀνδρέ(ας) ὁ ἐξά(δελφος) [αὐτοῦ? sc. Thomas Paloumpas], ἔχ(ει) Μα(ρίαν), υἱὸν Δημήτριον, βοῖδ(ιον) α', πρόβ(α)τ(α) ις', χοί(ρους) β', τέλος κο(κκία) η'.”

191. Dionysios metropolitan of Mytilene (Διονύσιος)

D 1315-1327

B A learned and influential prelate whose ecclesiastical, literary, and other activities are recorded in various sources. If his identification with a pupil and correspondent of the patriarch Gregorios of Cyprus (1283-1289) is correct, he must have been born in ca. 1270 (EUSTRATIADES, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου ... ἐπιστολαί 349-349).

Three poems composed by the famous court poet Manuel Philes and commissioned by Dionysios enable us to reconstruct a good part of his biography. In the first, addressed to Theodoros Metochites (1270-1332), great *logothetes* and patron of the famous monastery of Chora, we hear that he was an Ἀρκὰς ἐξ Ἀχαΐας (= GEDEON, Ποιήματα 658-659). The composition of the poem was occasioned by the offering to the Chora monastery of a book of ascetical literature (ἀσκητικῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ καμάτων τύπος). Richer in biographical data is the second poem (SAKKELION, Μανουὴλ Φιλῆ στίχοι 316), which must have adorned a book, most probably the Ladder of Ioannes Klimakos (τὴν κλίμακα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας). Styled as ὁ Μιτυλήνης ἀρχιθύτης, Dionysios is again introduced as an Ἀρκὰς ... δήπουθεν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας. Also we hear that he was Εὐζωΐτου παῖς ἀγαθῆς ρίζης κλάδος, which we take to mean that he was both of noble descent and the son of Euзоΐtos; he was tonsured a monk at a young age (καὶ γὰρ πτερωθεὶς τῷ μονοτρόπῳ βίῳ, οἷα νεοττὸς τῷ θεῷ προσήγγισε) and then an abbot (καὶ τῶν μοναστῶν δείκνυται πρωτοστάτης), until, soon afterwards, he was appointed a metropolitan (ποιμαντικῆς ἔτυχεν εὐθὺς ἀξίας). Dionysios also commissioned another epigram from Philes dedicated to an icon of the Virgin Mary, which was offered to the Lesbians to protect and encourage them against attacks (= GEDEON, Ποιήματα 659).

Dionysios may have been the unnamed metropolitan of Mytilene who, at the beginning of 1314, along with the metropolitan of Nikomedeia (identifiable with Kyrillos), handed over the *Elenchos* of Nikephoros Choumnos to the patriarch Niphon I. By an accusation of simony, Choumnos forced the

patriarch to abdicate. Nonetheless, Dionysios' first secure attestation as a metropolitan of Mytilene dates from 1315. He was involved in the dispute over the jurisdiction of a number of monasteries on Lesbos which claimed to be subject to the patriarchal exarch. Most disputes dated back to the years of the metropolitan of Mytilene Gregorios, a contemporary of the patriarch Arsenios Autorianos. In the first case, which was judged by the *endemousa* synod summoned by the patriarch Esaías on Wednesday, 19 September, 1324, Dionysios was confronted by the monks of the dependencies of Hosios Georgios, a monastery which was then ruined; its *metochia* claimed to be under patriarchal jurisdiction. The case had already been decided at Nymphaion in the time of the metropolitan Gregorios, but the dispute was carried on by the dependencies of Hosios Georgios, namely, the Hosioi Pateres (the so-called Daphnea) and Hagios Andreas of Glistra. The synod ordered that the patriarchal exarchs were no longer allowed to enter the aforementioned monasteries.

Dionysios' name appears in the Acts of many *endemousai* synods held during the patriarchates of Ioannes XIII Glykys (1315-1319) and Esaías (1323-1332) where he was only a participant (not directly involved). In documents dating from 1324-1327 Dionysios is styled "τοῦ Μιτυλήνης καὶ ὑπερτίμου Διονυσίου."

- S** a) EUSTRATIADIS, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου ... ἐπιστολαί 187-188 (*Letter* 181; see also LAMEERE, Grégoire de Chypre no. 195): "Διονύσιος οὗτοσι Ἀρκὰς ἐστὶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑμέτερος ... "; cf. also *ibid.*, 188-189 (*Letter* 182, LAMEERE no. 196).
 b) GEDEON, Ποιήματα 659; SAKKELION, Μανουὴλ Φιλῆ στίχοι 316: "Ὁ Μιτυλήνης ἀρχιθύτης, ὦ ξένε // Διονύσιος τὴν κυριωνυμίαν // Ἀρκὰς μὲν ἦν δῆπουθεν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας // Εὐζώϊτου παῖς, ἀγαθῆς ρίζης κλάδος..."
 c) BOISSONADE, Anecdota graeca V 255: "Νικηφόρου τοῦ Χούμνου ἑλεγχος κατὰ τοῦ κακῶς τὰ πάντα πατριαρχεύσαντος Νίφωνος ἀνενεχθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Νικομηδείας καὶ τοῦ Μιτυλήνης πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν σύνοδον."
 d) Cases in which he was directly involved: *PRK* I 456-476, acts nos. 79 and 80.
 e) As a signatory: *PRK* I 132, 174, 418, 430, 436, 450, 520, 536, 546, acts nos. 4, 10, 70, 73, 74, 77, 91, 95, 97 (= *MM* I 5, 14, 98-99, 103, 105, 109, 135, 140, 144).

Bibl.: *PLP* 5485; FEDALTO, Hierarchia 216; KARYDONES, Σταυροπηγιακά 220; DARROUZÈS, Regestes 2032-2035, 2038, 2043-2044, 2048-2049, 2052, 2056-2057, 2061, 2076, 2078, 2080-2081, 2086-2087, 2093, 2106, 2108, 2110, 2115, 2117-2119, 2124, 2128, 2135; MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 195; *IDEM*, Τὰ χαριστικά 87-92; DARROUZÈS, Registre synodal 221 and 346-348; ŠEVČENKO, Theodore Metochites 37 n. 141; GRUMEL, Titulature 169-171 and 183; VERPEAUX, Nicéphore Choumnos 51-52 and 100. For a full biographical sketch see CONSTANTINIDES, Dionysios Arkas.

192. Doïtes Konstantinos (Δοΐτης Κωνσταντῖνος)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. He was the husband of Kale and owner of twenty-eight goats, and two pigs, all valued at nine *kokkia*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: "Κω(νσταντῖνος) ὁ Δοΐτης ἔχ(ει) [Κ]αλ(ήν), αἰγίδ(ια) κη', χοί(ρους) β', τέλος κο(κκία) θ'."

Bibl.: *PLP* 5559.

193. Doria Paganino (de Auria, <Τόρια> Παγανῆς)

D Between 17 October and 3 November 1351

B A Genoese admiral; son of Gregorio, he was born towards the end of the 13th century. Entrusted with the command of 60 galleys he sailed from Genova on 13 July, 1351 to assist in the defense of Pera against the Venetians of Niccolò Pisani, who was supported by Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos. The two naval powers contested the maritime and commercial control of the Black Sea. Upon learning of the coming of the Genoese, the Venetian leader departed for Nigroponte (Chalkis in Euboea) where by 20 August, 1351, he was assailed by Doria. In his turn, the latter had to leave the town's siege for Chios by the beginning of October. On that island the Genoese recruited some men to replace those who had perished in the siege of

Nigroponte and were supplied with provisions. Doria's fleet must have left the island by 17 October and stopping by Sigirion on Lesbos came to Tenedos. The fact that four Greek hostages originating on Lesbos were detained at Pera in the period between 3 November 1351, the date when the Genoese must have arrived at Constantinople, and 8 May, 1352, implies that Doria must have imposed the payment of tribute during his short stay on the island.

Apart from sources of various provenance (Byzantine, Genoese, Aragonese, Florentine), the details of Doria's expedition in the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara were recorded in the account kept by the two treasurers of the maritime expedition and the *notarios* Tommaso Ottone.

- S** BALARD, Paganino Doria, 441 and n. 62: Archivio dello Stato di Genova, Antico Comune, *Officium Guerre Introitus et exitus*, no. 215, f. 34.

Related sources (on the Venetian-Genoese conflict): a) Kantakouzenos, *History* 4.26, 28, 30, 32, ed. SCHOPEN v. 3, pp. 198-240; b) Gregoras, *History* 25.17-22, ed. SCHOPEN v. 3 pp. 40-47; c) Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. MURATORI cols 1090-1092; d) Dandolo, *Chronica*, ed. MURATORI col 421; e) *Le vite de' duchi di Venezia de M. Sanudo*, ed. L. MURATORI, in: *Rerum italicarum scriptores* XXII. Milan 1733, cols 623-624; f) *Istorie di Matteo Villani* 2.74-75, ed. MURATORI cols 156-157; g) J. ZURITA, *Los cinco libros postreros de la primera parte de los Anales de la Corona de Aragon*. Saragossa 1562, v. 2 184-188.

- Bibl.:** PLP 29093; G. NUTI, Doria, Pagano, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* v. 41 (1992) 431-435; BALARD, Paganino Doria 431-469, esp. 440-441; IDEM, *Romanie* 80-81; COSTA, *Sulla battaglia* 197-210; SKRZINSKAJA, *Petrarka* 250-251, 255-258; VAN DIETEN in: Gregoras, *Rhömäische Geschichte* v. 5 223-233; LAIOU, *Italy and the Italians* 87-88, 95.

194. Eirene, daughter of Tzagaris Georgios (Ειρήνη)

- D** September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

- B** Daughter of Georgios Tzagaris and Kale; sister of Maria. Georgios Tzagaris was a *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

- S** Actes de Lavra II 155: "Γεώργ(ιος) ὁ Τζαγκάρ(ις), ἔχ(ει) Καλ(ήν), θυγ(α)τ(έ)ρ(ας) Μαρ(ίαν) (καὶ) Εἰρή(νην), τέλος κο(κκία) δ'."

195. de Flor Roger (Ρογτζέριος)

- D** Summer 1304

- B** Leader of a group of Catalan mercenaries in Sicily, he ended up serving the emperor Andronikos II who nominated him *mezas doux* and gave to him his niece Maria in marriage. Shortly afterwards, the Catalan leader was dispatched to Asia Minor with his Company and a group of Alan mercenaries, who caused problems to him. The Catalan Company won some victories against the Turks, yet its main concern was looting. While the fortresses of Koula, Phournoi, Philadelphieia, Pyrgion, and Ephesos were sacked, the Catalan fleet attacked and captured the islands of Chios, Lemnos, and Lesbos. According to Pachymeres, whoever could offer gold was unmolested, otherwise they would suffer the death penalty; terrible tortures awaited even monks, clergymen, and persons familiar to the emperor. Such was Machrames who suffered a cruel death on Mytilene.

Despite the emperor's insistent reminders that he should assist Michael IX in his campaigns in the Haimos region of Bulgaria, Roger divided his activities between besieging Magnesia and stationing on Lesbos. Meanwhile, the Alans deserted the army of de Flor and won a victory over the Turks in the area of Pegai in the Hellespont. Unable to conquer Magnesia, which was defended by the *strategos* Attaleiotes, de Flor returned to Mytilene. The Catalan army finally withdrew from Lesbos and Asia Minor and passed to Thrace, divided between those embarked on ships and those marching to Kallipolis (Gallipoli) on foot. The Catalan fleet which departed from Lesbos sailed to Madytos, across Abydos, whereas the army reached Lampsakos. De Flor was murdered by Georgous (Gircon), the chief of Alans, on 30 April, 1305 (or a little later, according to Muntaner).

S Pachymeres, *History* 11.26, ed. FAILLER pp. 479-483: “Εἶτα Φιλαδελφεῖα προσβάλλει καὶ χιλιάδας συχνὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἐκλέγει χρυσίου, ἀδυσώπητον ἐπὶ πᾶσι φέρων τὸ φρόνημα. Εἶτα τὰ ὅμοια δρᾷ Πυργίον καὶ Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως φυγοῦσι, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, καπνὸν τὸ πῦρ ὑπανήπτε τῶν πειρασμῶν· καὶ ὁ διδοὺς μετὰ πλείστα μετὰ πολλὰς βασάνους μόλις ἐσώζετο. Ταῦτα κἂν ταῖς νήσοις Χίῳ καὶ Λήμνῳ καὶ Μιτυλήνῃ ἐπράττοντο. Καὶ ὅπου ῥοῖζος χρυσίου, κἂν μοναχὸς ἦν κἂν τάξεως ἱερᾶς κἂν τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ γνωστῶν βασιλεῖ, δειναῖς αἰώραις ἡτάζετο, καὶ ὁ μακελλικῶ φιτρῶ καὶ κοπίδι πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπειλούμενος θάνατος καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς γῆς κρυπτόμενα ἐκ τοῦ παρασχεδὸν ἀνώρυττε καὶ ἐδείκνυ. Ὁ μὲν οὖν διδοὺς ἐντεῦθεν ἡλευθεροῦτο τῇ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐτυμότητι, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων πρόστιμον εἶχε τὸν θάνατον... Ἀλλὰ μεθ’ ἡμέρας ὁ μέγας δοῦξ προσίσχει τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ ἔδει πάντας αἰτίας τῶν πορισμῶν τὰς μὲν εὐρίσκεσθαι, τὰς δὲ πλάττεσθαι... Ὡς γοῦν βραδεῖς ἐφαίνοντο, μὴ ἔχοντες, περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, αὐτῆς ὥρας προστάσσει ἐπ’ ὅψει θατέρου κατατομεῖσθαι θάτερον τὸν Μαχράμην...” (extracts) (corresponds to *Version brève* p. 113.5, where de Flor is styled as ὁ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπαιτητὴς μέγας δοῦξ); also Pachymeres, *History* 11.31, ed. FAILLER p. 497: “Τῷ μὲν οὖν μεγάλῳ δουκί, τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ Μαγνησίαν, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ Μιτυλήνῃν διάγοντι, αἱ συχναὶ προστάξεις τοῦ ὑπερθέσθαι τὸν πρὸς Μαγνησιώτας πόλεμον ...” (*Version brève* p. 117.7-9); Pachymeres, *History* 12.3, *ibid.* p. 527: “... ὑποστρέψας αὐθις κατὰ Μιτυλήνῃν γίνεται, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νηῶν ἄγων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πεζῇ κελεύσας ἐπὶ τῆς Καλλίου βαδίζειν.”; and p. 529: “... μόλις ἀφέντες Μιτυλήνῃν, τοῖς κατὰ Μάδυτον αἰγιαλοῖς προσίσχουσιν.” (*Version brève* p. 124.21-24).

Related source: Muntaner, *Crònica* 206-215, ed. BAGUÉ pp. 33-47.

Bibl.: PLP 17544; LAURENT, *Regestes* 1594; DÖLGER, *Regesten* 2269, 2273f., 2282, 2306; WITTEK, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* 21; DADE, *Wiedererrichtung* 100-111; LEMERLE, *Aydin* 15-18; SCHREINER, *Geschichte Philadelphieas* 384-388; NICOL, *Last Centuries* 137-138; LAIOU, *Constantinople and the Latins* 136; JACOBY, *La “Compagnie Catalane”* 78-103; IDEM, *Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens*; FAILLER, *Chronologie II* 60-61; IDEM, *L’inscription de l’amiral* 229-239; ASDRACHA, *Les Rhodopes* 202 f.

196. Gainfia di Finale, Antonio fu Buonafede

D 20 September 1334

B In a document signed in Mytilene he nominates as his procurator Rinaldo di Portu, civilian of Rhodes, empowering him legally to receive any debts he may be owed from any person on any occasion in Rhodes, in Altoluogo (i.e., Ephesos), and in any other place.

S BALLETO, *Genova*, no. 11 (p. 173): “actum in portu Meteli<ni>, anno dominice Nativitatis MCCCXXXIII, indictione prima, die XX septembris, ora vespas.”

197. Gattilusio (Gattelusi) Francesco (Γατελούζος, Γατελιούζος, Καταλούζος, Κατελουῖζος, Φραντζέσκος, Φραντζήσκος)

D 17 July 1355

B A Genoese noble and member of a politically influential family. Like other young Genoese, he embarked upon a journey to the Levant in order to expand his trading activity. As a skipper of two galleys he became acquainted with Ioannes V Palaiologos on Tenedos and supported him in his successful attempt to expel Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos from the Byzantine throne in November 1354. For that he was rewarded with the hand in marriage of Ioannes V Palaiologos’ sister Maria and received, as a dowry, the lordship of Lesbos and the town of Ainos in Thrace. The marriage was celebrated in Constantinople before 17 July, 1355, the date of the official settlement of the Gattilusio family on the island.

Note that the territory of Lesbos was conferred upon Francesco as an appanage by the Byzantine emperor and it remained so until the Ottoman conquest (1462). Therefore, Francesco and his successors cannot be regarded as “conquerors” of Lesbos and *iure ipso* rulers. Apart from other points of interest, what made Lesbos commercially attractive to the Genoese family was the exploitation of the rich alum deposits in the area of the gulf of Kallone.

According to the Short Chronicle of Mytilene and the Spanish traveler Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo who visited Lesbos in 1403, Francesco died along with his sons Andronikos and Domenico in an earthquake on 6 August, 1384.

- S a) Gregoras, *History* 36.5, ed. SCHOPEN v. 3 pp. 503-504: "...ἔδοξεν οὖν ἀπενεχθέντα εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἐκεῖ παρὰ Καταλούζῳ φυλάττεσθαι τῷ Λατίνῳ, ὃς ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ γαμβρὸς ὑπάρχων τῷ βασιλεὺς πάσης ἐπετρόπευε Λέσβου τῆς νήσου."; and XXXVII,46 (III 554): "... ὁ δὲ γαμβρὸς ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ τῷ βασιλεὶ καταστάς καὶ ἅμα Λέσβον τὴν νῆσον εἰς προῖκα λαβών."
- b) Doukas, *History* 12.5, ed. GRECU p. 73.29-33: "Τὸν δὲ Φραντζῆσκον Γατελοῦζον, ὃν ὁ λόγος ὡς φίλον καλὸν καὶ πιστότατον ἐδήλωσε προλαβών, δίδωσι τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ εἰς προῖκα τὴν νῆσον Λέσβον· καὶ τοὺς γάμους τελέσαντες ἀπῆραν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ κατώκησαν ..."
- c) Chalkokondyles, *History*, ed. DARKÓ v. 2 pp. 268.23-269.18: "...τὸ δὲ γένος τῶν ἡγεμόνων τούτων τῆς Λέσβου Κατελουῖζων ἐπικαλούμενον, δοκεῖ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰανυῆς γενέσθαι, ἀφικόμενον δὲ ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων Βυζαντίου βασιλεῖ, ἔχοντι ὑπήκοον τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, συμβαλέσθαι τε καὶ ὑπουργῆσαι μεγάλα τῷ βασιλεῖ, δι' ἃ δὴ σφισιν ἐπιτραπῆναι τὴν νῆσον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἄρχειν, κατέχοντας δὲ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον, ὕστερον ὠρμημένους ἀπὸ ταύτης, καταλαβεῖν Αἶνον πόλιν τὴν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ παρὰ τῷ Ἑβρω ποταμῷ, διενεχθέντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὸν τῆδε αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀρμοστήν, καὶ σφισιν ἐπικαλουμένων ἀπὸ τῆς Λέσβου τὸ Κατελουῖζων γένος, καταλαβόντας δὲ διαφερομένων ἀλλήλοις ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον τῶν ποτε Ἑλλήνων βασιλέων. Δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ νῆσος αὕτη καὶ πρότερον ἔτι τούτων τῶν Κατελουῖζων γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἰανυῖοις, καὶ ὑπακοῦειν τότε τῷ Φωκαίῃ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπιτροπεύοντι, Κατάνῃ τοῦνομα ἔχοντι· εἰλε δὲ Κατάνης τὴν νῆσον ταύτην ἐπιβουλῇ. Καὶ ὁ τε Ἑλλήνων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τε Μιτυλήνην παρεστήσατο καὶ ἐπολέμει τῇ Φωκαίῃ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συμβαλλομένων τῶν Κατελουῖζων τῷ Βυζαντίου βασιλεῖ, ἐπετράποντό τε τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἔσχον ἐπὶ τινας γενεάς, διαγενόμενοι ἔσσε ἐπὶ τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνον."
- d) Kritoboulos, *History* 2.13.1, ed. REINSCH p. 105: "εἶχε δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ χρόνων μάλιστα πού πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν τις ἀνὴρ Ἰταλῶν εὐγενῆς τε καὶ τῶν ἄγαν δυνατῶν, Γατελιούζος τοῦνομα, δόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν ἐς γυναῖκα καὶ φερνὴν Αἶνον τε καὶ Μιτυλήνην. Ὅς δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ταύτην προήγαγε τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος καὶ κρείττω τοῖς ὅλοις ἀπέφηνε."
- e) SCHREINER, *Kleinchroniken*, I 30/1 (p. 219): "ἐκυρίευσεν ὁ Μιτυλήνης Φραντζέσκος ὁ πρῶτος Γατελιούζος αὐθέντης, ὁ καὶ ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ γαμβρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, ἔτη κθ', ἡμέρας κ', ἥρξατο δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς αὐθεντείας αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ζωξβ' ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, ιουλλίου ιζ', ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ, ατνε."; first published in DENNIS, *Short Chronicle* 125.
- f) Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. MURATORI col 1094A; new ed. PETTI BALBI p. 154: "et eo anno Kaloiane, imperator Grecorum, auxilio nobilis viri Francesci Gatelusi, civis Ianue, preceptoris et patroni galee unius quemdam nominatum Catacosino qui sibi imperium occupabat expulit, in suetum dominium rediens: ipse autem imperator retribuens ea causa ipsi Francisco in uxorem dedit sororem suam, et insulam, que Lesbos seu Metelinum vocatur."
- g) *Istorie di Matteo Villani* 2.71, ed. MURATORI col 447: "...lo Imperadore per consiglio di M. Francesco di di Genova suo cognato, a cui elli havea datta in dota l'Isola di Metellino..."
- h) Pius II, *Commentaries* X, 637: "... when Kaloianes, Emperor of Constantinople, who had been defeated in battle by Cantacuzene, regained his throne with the aid of the Genoese Francesco Gattilusio, he gave his ally the island as a mark of gratitude and it has remained in the hands of his descendants to this day."
- i) Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, ed. DENISON ROSS and POWER pp. 50-51: "The population of Mitylene is Greek, and formerly they were subject to the Emperor of Constantinople, but now they are under the government of a Genoese lord, whose name is Messer John Gattilusio. His father [Francesco] had married a daughter of [Andronicus III] the former Emperor and it is her son who is now the lord of the Island. Of him they relate a wondrous tale, for they say that one night some twenty years ago the island suffered from a terrible earthquake, when this young prince [Messer John, then a child] with his father and mother and two of his brothers, all were asleep in the chambers of the castle, which the same night collapsed in ruins. All died crushed in the overthrow, save only the child John, who being protected by his cradle escaped. He was found on the following morning alive and unhurt, having fallen in the cradle from the heights on which the castle stood into a vineyard far below. This indeed was a marvellous providence."
- j) *Chronicon Regiense*, ed. MURATORI col 90: "MCCCLXXXIII. De mense Augusti hora nonarum Mithilenis, quae est in confinio Turcarum, et dominii Ianuae, fuerunt terraemotus maximi, adeo et turrese concutiebant sicut arbores invicem motae ventis, sed nemine laeso; at post mediam noctem in tantum convaluerunt, ut totum castrum ceciderit, omnibus somnio sopitis. Mortui sunt quingenti Januenses, inter

quos maximus bellator..... Capitaneus exercitus; unus ejus filius parvus non est ibi inventus, sed inventus est longe a Castro per unum milliare, qui erat in lecto cum patre. Interrogato, quomodo huc portatus fuisset, dixit, quod portatus fuit per unum cancellum, sed quomodo, nec a quo nesciebat.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 3594; *EPLBHC* V 248-250; DÖLGER, Regesten 3043; DELIS, Γατελοῦζοι 25-34; MILLER, The Gattilusi of Lesbos 313-315; DENNIS, Short Chronicle 128-131; BARKER, Manuel II 35-36, n. 92; SCHREINER, Kleinchroniken II 285-286; LUTTRELL, John V's Daughters 105-109 (with many reservations); NICOL, Last Centuries 268; BALARD, Romanie 171; IDEM, The Genoese 160-161; IVISON, Funerary Monuments; KOFOPOULOS and MAZARAKIS, Γατελοῦζοι 199-203; BALLETO, Stella 294-295; EADEM, Gattiluso 449-464, esp. 456; BASSO, Gattilusio; MAZARAKIS, Συμβολή στην εραλδική 366-367; IDEM, Νομικό πλαίσιο; ZACHARIADOU, Changing Masters 202-203; OBERLÄNDER-TÄRNOVEANU, Gattilusio 223-240; ORIGONE, Bisanzio e Genova 257-258; GANCHOU, Valentina Doria.

198. Gennadios (Γεννάδιος)

D 14th c. (?)

B A *hierodiakonos* from Lesbos; his name appears in two marginal notes on f. 445^v and f. 512^v of the 11th-c. codex *Megisti Lavra* B 107. This is an illuminated manuscript containing Homilies of St Gregorios of Nazianzos. Gennadios calls himself λεσβίτης, “i.e., from the island that is today called Mytilene.”

S codex *Megisti Lavra* B 107, f. 445^v (cited after Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους III 246): “ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ διὰ ἀναγνώσεως ἐμοῦ Γενναδίου, ἱεροδιακόνου λεσβίτου ἐκ τῆς νήσου δηλαδή, τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Μιτιλήνης. ἀλλὰ τὰ παρόντα, ὧ θεωρητὰ δεῖνται δηλίου κολυμβητοῦ” and f. 512^v: “ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ διὰ ἀναγνώσεως ἐμοῦ Γενναδίου λεσβίτου τὰ δὲ τούτου νοήματα δεῖνται δηλίου καὶ τηνικαῦτα καταμέρος αὐτὰ ἐξηγηθῆναι.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 91605; EUSTRATIADES, Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας 28.

199. Georgios (Γεώργι.)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of *Megisti Lavra* in Agiassos. Because the text is corrupt, we know only that he owned three goats, all valued at nine *kokkia*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: “Γεώργι..... ο[.....], αἰγίδια γ’, τέλος κο(κκία) θ’.”

200. Georgios, son of Choniates Nikephoros (Γεώργιος)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Son of Nikephoros Choniates and Maria. He is attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of *Megisti Lavra* in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: “Νικηφόρος ὁ Χωνιάτ(ης), ἔχ(ει) Μαρ(ίαν), υἱ[ὸν] Γεώργιον, βοῖδ(ιον) α’, πρόβ(α)τ(α) [χοί]ρ[ους], τέλος κο(κκία) ἑννέα.”

201. Gidon (Γίδων)

D 1256-1267

B Founder of a small monastery (μονύδριον) dedicated to the Theotokos Hodegetria. The consecration of this monastery was celebrated by “the holy metropolitan himself” (παρ’ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου), to be identified with Gregorios, metropolitan of Mytilene during the patriarchate of Arsenios Autorianos. At some point, this monastery was placed under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Mytilene and not under the patriarch. In the patriarchal acts nos. 79 and 80, where the name of Gidon is

attested in the genitive, he is styled as *prokathemenos*, a title that may correspond to a member of the senior clergy (see LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v.), unless it denotes an abbot.

Unless this is an uncommon first name, Gidon must be a family name, probably deriving from Gidos, Gidoi. This was a family known in the second half of 12th and in the 13th c. It has been suggested that it was the Greek rendering of the Italian name Guido. The most prominent member of the family was Alexios Gidos, *megas domestikos* of the West during the reigns of Andronikos I Komnenos (1183-1185) and Isaakios II Angelos (1185-1195); see Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. VAN DIETEN pp. 403.26 and 446.64 (= Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio* v. 2 pp. 424-425 and n. 57).

- S** *PRK* I 464 and 472-474, acts nos. 79 and 80 (= *MM* I 114 and 117): “ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ περὶ ἑτέρου μονυδρίου, ἀνεγερθέντος παρὰ τοῦ προκαθημένου ἐκείνου τοῦ Γίδωνος, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ κατέχειν δεδικαίωται, ἅτε τῆς τούτου καθιερώσεως παρ’ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου γεγεννημένης” and “ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ἕτερον μονύδριον, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ προκαθημένου ἐκείνου τοῦ Γίδωνος ἀνεγερθὲν εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ὑπεράγνου Θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας, ὅπερ παρὰ τοῦ τοιούτου ἱερωτάτου ἀρχιερέως ἔσχε τὴν καθιέρωσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διεγνώσθη κατέχεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ ...”

Bibl.: *PLP* 4174; DARROUZÈS, *Regestes* 2117-2118; *ODB* 850–851 (on the family of Gidoi); also GUILLAND, *Institutions* v. 1 408 ff.; AHRWEILER, *Smyrne* 155 n. 115.

202. Gregorios, metropolitan of Mytilene (Γρηγόριος)

D 1256-post 1267

- B** An influential ecclesiastic whose name and activities are attested in many sources. He was the protagonist in a number of conflicts regarding local monasteries on Lesbos and other matters of wider interest. First and foremost, he was the spiritual father of the emperor Theodoros II Laskaris whose deathbed confession he heard. As a person devoted to the patriarch Arsenios, he feigned illness in order not to participate in the patriarch’s deposition. The emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos angrily despatched (μετ’ ἐμβριθείας) the historian Georgios Pachymeres, then a *notarios*, to make Gregorios present himself or have his opinion on the matter. It seems that he finally placed the burden of Arsenios’ deposition on the shoulders of other metropolitans. Gregorios’ last recorded activity was the consecration of the patriarch Ioseph I on 1 January, 1267. Being respectable and long-serving, he was chosen to perform the sacrament.

The conflicts Gregorios was involved in were recorded in patriarchal documents dating from the time of the metropolitan Dionysios (1315-1327). The first concerned the question whether the monastery of Hosios Georgios and its dependencies fell under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople or the metropolitan see of Mytilene. By a synodic act signed at Nymphaion the patriarch Arsenios justified Gregorios; this act was kept in the records of the *chartophylakeion* of the metropolitan of Mytilene, but, as the monastery was ruined in the course of time, the dispute was contrived by its two dependencies, the monasteries of Hosioi Pateres, the so-called Daphnea, and of Hagios Andreas of Glistra. By an act issued on 19 September, 1324, the patriarch and the synod again justified the metropolitan of Mytilene.

Apart from Hosios Georgios, the monasteries of Hagios Menas of Kato Ptomaia (or -oi), of Gidon, of Hosios Gregorios in the parish of Ger(r)a, and, finally, that of Aristai on one of the islets, also claimed to fall under the jurisdiction of the patriarchal exarchs. In the first place, the monastery of Hagios Menas was assigned to the metropolitan see of Mytilene by virtue of a document presented to the patriarch Arsenios. The document recorded the agreement between Manuel Xeros and the metropolitan of Mytilene Pothos Haplesphares (May 1180 or 1195), according to which, Xeros was given the monastery on the condition that he pay twenty *trikephala nomismata* every year, of which ten were to be credited to the metropolitan see and ten to the house of the metropolitan’s brother-in-law Ioannes Serbes. After the death of Manuel Xeros, the commitment was taken over by his son Leon Komnenos who signed a *sigillion* confirming that Serbes should receive the amount of ten *trikephala* every year. It was thereby inferred that the monastery of Kato Ptomaia (or -oi) was subject to the metropolitan of Mytilene (acts nos. 83 and 86). Furthermore, this settlement was confirmed by the metropolitan of Methymna Nikephoros.

As for the small monastery (μονύδριον) of Gidon, it was subject to the see of Mytilene for the only reason that it was consecrated by the metropolitan himself, i.e. Gregorios. However, the matter seemed more complicated regarding the other two monasteries (Hosios Gregorios and Aristai), requiring an

investigation on the part of the patriarch Arsenios, who delegated inspection to the representative of the patriarchal rights. When the *ostiarios* Timotheos entered the monasteries, Gregorios objected, claiming that up to the time of the metropolitan Ioseph the rights of the Church of Mytilene had not been contested. When the latter was detained by the holy synod at Nikaia, the patriarchal exarchs took the opportunity to appropriate the monasteries. In this instance the patriarch Arsenios remembered that the metropolitan Ioseph did not stop protesting at the time regarding the “injustice” of the patriarchal exarchs. Therefore, in order to settle the dispute, the patriarch sent the local representative of the patriarchal rights to ask trustworthy old men whether up to the time of the metropolitan Ioseph these monasteries had fallen under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Mytilene or under that of the patriarchal exarchs (act no. 83). By another patriarchal act (no. 84) the patriarch Arsenios decided that the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Mytilene extended also to the monasteries of Hosios Gregorios and Aristai. As regards the last monastery, the decision was taken regardless of a false document presented by its abbot declaring that Aristai was subject to the patriarchate since from ancient times.

- S** a) Akropolites, *History*, ed. HEISENBERG p. 153.13: “... τὴν πίστιν ἐν νῶ προσλαβὼν καὶ τὸν πόθον, τῷ ποιμενάρχῃ Μιτυλήνης, ᾧ σφαλμάτων ἦν ἀνακαλύπτων βάρη, εἰς τοῦδαφος πέπτωκεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς πόδας ...”; also “brief version,” on p. 265.6 (§ 74). English tr.: MACRIDES, Akropolites, 335-336.
- b) Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις Χρονική*, ed. SATHAS p. 534: “...καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὸν τῆς Μιτυλήνης, ἄνδρα σεμνοῦ βίου καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐργάτην, ἀρχιερέα, προέκρινεν, οἷα συνήθη αὐτῷ. Τοῦτον οὖν μετακαλεσάμενος, ἐξομολόγησιν ψυχῆς γενναίας ἀξίαν καὶ μεγαλόφρονος ἐποίησατο ...”
- c) Ephraim, *Chronicle*, ed. LAMPSIDES p. 327 v. 9281-9284: “...τῷ ποιμενάρχῃ προσδραμὼν Μιτυλήνης, ᾧ σφαλμάτων ἦν ἀνακαλύπτων βάρη // εἰς τοῦδαφος πέπτωκεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς πόδας, // καὶ τοῦσδε θερμοῖς δάκρυσιν ἀποπλύνει ...”
- d) Pachymeres, *History* 4.6, ed. FAILLER pp. 347-349: “... ὁ γὰρ Μιτυλήνης Γρηγόριος, τὰ πολλὰ τῷ πατριάρχῃ προσέχων, ἐπεὶ τὴν δίκην ἀπηρτημένην ἑώρα οἱ, νόσον σκηψάμενος ἀπὴν, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μετ’ ἐμβριθείας ὁ κρατῶν, ἐμὲ ὡς νοτάριον ἀποστέλλων, ἢ ἀπαντᾶν ἢ διδόναι τὴν γνώμην ἐκέλευε, καὶ μόλις τὴν οἰκείαν γνώμην ...” (*Version brève* p. 107.23-27); and Pachymeres, *History* 4.24, ed. pp. 395-397: “... ὁ δέ γε Μιτυλήνης Γρηγόριος ἐκ παλαιοῦ φέρων τὴν χειροτονίαν, χειροτονεῖν τὸν πατριάρχην ἐκλέγεται.” (*Version brève* p. 123.29-37).
- e) *PRK* I 456-486, acts nos. 79, 80, 81, 82 (= *MM* I 111-115) and *PRK* I 488-502, acts nos. 83, 84, 85, 86, 87 (= *MM* I 115-126); and OUDOT, *Acta selecta* 84: “...ὁ ἱερώτατος μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης Γρηγόριος ...”.

Bibl.: *PLP* 4555; FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216 (cites DARROUZÈS, *Regestes* 2005); LAURENT *Regestes* 1331, 1358; DARROUZÈS, *Regestes* 2117-2118; MELIARAKES, *Ἱστορία* 572; SYKOUTRIS, *Περὶ τὸ σχίσμα* 300 n. 1, and 309; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μιτυλήνης* 193-194; IDEM, *Τὰ χαριστικά* 87-92; FAILLER, *Chronologie* I 157-158; GOUNARIDIS, *Το κίνημα των Αρσενιατών* 89; LAMPAKIS, *Γεώργιος Παχυμέρης* 24-25; MACRIDES, *Akropolites* 337; KRAUS, *Kleriker im späten Byzanz* 236-237.

203. Gregorios, metropolitan of Sardis and proedros of Mytilene (Γρηγόριος)

D 1329-1331

B Metropolitan of Sardis (1315-1341) who, after the conquest of Asia Minor by the Ottomans, was also appointed *proedros* of Mytilene. Bearing this combined title, he signed two patriarchal acts, nos. 98 and 106, dating from April 1329 and April 1331 respectively; the latter referred to monasteries of the metropolitan see of Methymna.

S *PRK* I 552, act no. 86 and *PRK* I 606, act no. 106 (= *MM* I 146 and 164): “τοῦ Σάρδεων, ὑπερτίμου καὶ ἐξάρχου πάσης Λυδίας καὶ προέδρου Μιτυλήνης Γρηγορίου.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 4558; FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μιτυλήνης* 195; DARROUZÈS, *Regestes* 2149, 2164; GERMANOS OF SARDIS, *Ἱστορική μελέτη* 62 f.

204. Gregorios of Sinai, saint (Γρηγόριος)

D Summer 1326

B A saint and a theologian; born to a well-off family in Koukoulos near Klazomenai in W Asia Minor, Gregorios was compelled to leave his native land when, early in the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328), Asia Minor was afflicted by the raids of the Ottoman Turks (referred to as Hagarenes in the text). Taken prisoners, he and his family were carried away to Laodikeia (Syria) where, however, they were ransomed by the local Christians. Gregorios then moved to Cyprus, but not for long; after being distinguished for his virtues and initiated in the spiritual life, he came to Mt Sinai to be tonsured a monk. For three years, apart from being devoted to prayer, he was in the humble service of the kitchen and the bakery. Sensing the envy of his fellow monks he left the monastery accompanied by the monk Gerasimos, a native of Euboia and a kin to king Phatzos (i.e., Bonifazio dalla Carceri Verona, see *PLP* 29660). After a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre and a hesychastic respite in the Fair Havens (Καλοὶ Λιμένες) on Crete, they reached Mt Athos by boat. Settling in the Sketis of Magoula opposite the monastery of Philotheou, Gregorios attracted many disciples whose ascetical toils are parenthetically set forth by his biographer. However, many were those who envied his saintly example and tried to make him leave the Holy Mountain. Their machinations were countered by the *protos* of Athos, who received Gregorios as the “common teacher” of Athonite monastics. Longing for more quietude, the saint moved to the area of the monastery of Simonos Petra. Gregorios’ flight from Mt Athos occurred only when the Turks (Hagarenes) sacked the monasteries. After a two-month sojourn in Thessalonike, the saint, having as companions his future biographer Kallistos and another monk, set sail with the intent of returning to Mt Sinai. They first anchored on Chios where they met a monk returning from Jerusalem. As he discouraged them from travelling to the Holy City, they embarked for Mytilene where they lived some time on Mt Libanon. Yet, unable to find a place of quietude (κατάστημα ἡσυχίας), they departed for Constantinople, where winter forced them to suffer the hardships of foreigners in a locality called Aetos. However, their presence was made manifest to the emperor Andronikos II by his nephew the monk Athanasios Palaiologos. Rejecting the emperor’s honors the saint departed in a new direction. The new journey took him to Sozopolis, Paroria, and Mt Katakekryomenon (on the border between modern Bulgaria and Turkey) where Gregorios set up four laurae and attracted a great number of monks, especially Slavic. The misconduct of his disciples caused a new departure for Mt Athos, via Sozopolis and Constantinople. Gregorios found refuge in Megisti Lavra but, owing to new incursions, he returned again to Mt Katakekryomenon. Thanks to the assistance of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander (1331-1371), he was protected from the mountain’s bandits. It was at this place that he spent the rest of his life; he passed away on 27 November, 1346.

The *vita* of St Gregorios of Sinai was written by the patriarch of Constantinople Kallistos I (1350-1353, 1355-1363). A Slavonic version of the *vita*, preserved in a 16th c.-manuscript, was edited by P.A. SYRKU and was posthumously published in *Pamiatniki drevnoy pis'mennosti i isskustva* 172, St. Petersburg 1909. Latest ed. in DELEKARE, Άγιος Γρηγόριος Σιναΐτης.

S Kallistos I, *Life of St Gregorios of Sinai* 15, ed. POMJALOVSKI pp. 33.32-34.6; ed. H.-V. BEYER § 23,5 p. 190: “... παρέλαβε μόνον ἐμὲ σὺν ἐτέρῳ τινὶ μοναχῷ ... κατήραμεν εἰς νῆσον τὴν Χίον, ἐκεῖ δὲ φθάσαντες περιτυγχάνομεν ἀνδρὶ τινὶ μοναχῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπανερχομένῳ, ὁ δ’ οὐκ οἶδε ὅπως ἐμποδὼν ἡμῖν ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν φερούσης ὁδοῦ. Τῆς Χίου τοιγαροῦν ἀπάραντες κατήχθημεν εἰς τὴν Μιτυλήνην κὰν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Λιβάνου μικρὸν προσδιατρίψαντες καὶ μηδ’ ἐκεῖσε κατάστημα ἡσυχίας δυνηθέντες εὑρεῖν, κατελάβομεν τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην Κωνσταντινούπολιν.” Slavonic version in DELEKARE, Άγιος Γρηγόριος Σιναΐτης 250.

Bibl.: *PLP* 4601; *ODB* 883; BECK, Kirche 684 ff.; *Bibliotheca sanctorum orientalium* v. 2 cols 122-129; GONES, Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον 44-46 (with a summary of the *vita*); BALFOUR, Saint Gregory of Sinai (with a detailed reconstruction of the saint’s biography); MACRIDES, Saints and Sainthood 70; DELEKARE, Άγιος Γρηγόριος Σιναΐτης 54, 80; for the date of Gregorios’ visit, see RIGO, Gregorio il Sinaita 41-44.

205. Humbert, dauphin of Viennois (Ingibertus delfinus Vienne, Ἰνιμπέρτος, Δελφίνος Ντεβιάνα)

D “Before and after 10 February 1346”

B Count of the Dauphiné de Viennois in modern SE France. An adventurous man, he responded positively to the pope Clement VI's appeal for aid against the Turks of Smyrne and gradually made his way to the Levant, becoming the leader of the so-called Smyrniote Crusade (1345-1352). Passing through Venice and having the support of the Venetian Senate, he finally settled on Nigroponte (Euboia) to make preparations before being dispatched to W Asia Minor. It is in the context of this campaign that the chronicler of Pistoia recounts that Humbert, just after departing from Venice, set out for Mytilene where he settled for fifteen days. His military forces amounted to 2,300 foot soldiers and 70 horsemen who were attacked by 1,500 Turks disembarked from 26 ships. The battle ended with the defeat of the Turks, their ships burnt, and their leader *lo barone Mitaometto* captured. The latter offered his weight in silver as ransom, but Humbert declined this offer insisting upon the conversion to Christianity of the Turkish leader and the other Muslim captives. To the Turks' respective refusal Humbert put them to death by the shots of bowmen. The chronicler adds that in the “battle of Mytilene” 100 men took part from the region of Pistoia under the command of Federico Cancellieri; also that the Christian forces had previously taken over six towns in W Asia Minor, among them Smyrne.

The veracity of the account of the Pistoese chronicler has justly been refuted as involved by a credulous mind and lacking confirmation in other sources, mostly in the correspondence of the pope Clement VI. The date of the alleged battle of Mytilene is 10 February 1346. Humbert did, however, set foot in Asia Minor where he is more reliably reported to have won victories against the “infidels”; however, in early 1347 he was ordered by the pope to make a truce with the Turks and then set sail back to the West. Passing from Rhodes in April or May 1347, he lost his wife Marie des Baux who had followed him on his Levantine campaign.

S *Storie Pistoiesi* 135, ed. BARBI pp. 219-220: “Qui si racconta che, quando lo dalfino di Vienna si partì di Vinegia per andare contra li Turchi, arrivò all'isola di Metallino, presso alla Turchia a XVIII miglia; e quivi volse vedere con quanta gente elli era, e trovassi con MMCCC cristiani a piedi e con LXX uomini a cavallo. E quivi stettono quindici dì; e poi vennono loro adosso li Turchi con XXVI legni, in su' quali erano MV^c turchi, li quali feciono domandare battaglia al dalfino. Lo dalfino l'acettò. Ed essendo li Turchi secesi a terra de' legni, lo dalfino fece arder tutti li loro legni: e quando li Turchi, essendo rinfrescati in terra, volsono tornare a' loro legni li trovaro arsi, e 'l dalfino avea loro preso li passi e vedendoseli passare allato li percosse e ruppeli e sconfisseli; e 'l campo rimasse al dalfino e a suoi Cristiani. Fue prigionie lo barone Mitaometto che era turchio, e volsesi ricomperare tanto ariente quanto elli pesava; lo dalfino non volse, ma volea solo che elli e li altri Turchi prigionieri venissono alla legge cristiana. Ellino non volsono tornare: al fine lo dalfino li condannò a crudele morte, cioè che fossono tutti saettati a segno; lo primo saettato fue lo barone Mitaometto; e così li altri, che furono CL. Le terre che li Cristiani hanno guadagnato in Turchia da XVIII mesi adrieto fine a di X di febraio MCCCXLVI sono queste: Tebia, Folia Nova, Smirre, Picciole, Endramati e Collace, che sono sei. In questa battaglia fue Frederico di Tici di messer Lotto de' Canciglieri da Pistoia; il quale fue capitano di cento fanti tra di Pistoia e d'altronde sotto la bandiera a scacchi cioè l'arme del suo comune di Pistoia.”

Related source: Kantakouzenos, *History* 4.2, ed. SCHOPEN v. 3, pp. 13–16.

Bibl.: *PLP* 8211; *Lexikon des Mittelalters* v. 5 206-207; GAY, Clément VI 70 n. 1; FAURE, Dauphin Humbert II 528-529 (who disputes only the date of the battle); LEMERLE, Aydin 196 n. 1; BALARD, *Romanie* v. 1 77, 123; SETTON, *Papacy* 204-205; MILLER, Chios 134; ATIYA, *Crusade* 12-14.

206. Hyphantos Manuel (Ὑφαντῆς Μανουήλ)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. Because of a lacuna, the name of his wife is missing from the text. His property was valued at two *kokkia*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: “Μανουὴλ ὁ Ὑφαντῆς ἔχ(ει), τέλος κο(κκία) β’.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 29526.

207. Ioannes III Doukas Vatatzes (Ἰωάννης Βατάτζης)

D 1225 and ca. 1238

B Emperor of the kingdom of Nikaia (1222-1254); later celebrated as a saint known as Ioannes the Merciful. Following his victory at the battle of Poimananon in 1225 which enabled him to reconquer the few areas of Western Asia Minor that were still under Latin rule, he built a new fleet and in short time took over the islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Ikaria, Kos, and Rhodes. Apart from Gregoras, the presence of Vatatzes on Lesbos is also documented in the chronicle of Andrea Dandolo, is alluded to in the Catalan version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, and is twice mentioned in a later Western source.

Andrea Dandolo has Vatatzes residing on Lesbos when he received a written invitation from the “emperor of Çagora” (i.e., Bulgaria) to create mutual ties of parenthood (apparently through a marriage) so that the Latins of Constantinople be attacked both from East and West. From the chronicle’s internal chronology, this can be dated to ca. 1238.

The Catalan version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, the *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea* 2.73-77, tells a charming tale regarding the daughter of an emperor of the Greeks who ruled from Mytilene; she married the Latin emperor of Constantinople “Henri,” who so loved her that he spent all his time with her. His barons became angry at this and burst into their room, mutilating her face so that he would no longer care for her. Henri returned to Rome in an effort to secure papal support for his revenge upon the barons but was killed at Patras on his return journey. The chronicle adds that his wife then took up a religious life. This is in fact a very garbled account of the early history of the Latin rulers of Constantinople. This emperor Henri did not exist (and should not be confused with the second Latin emperor of Constantinople). The story, however, does seem to have happened in some such form, only the emperor was Robertus de Courtenay (1221-1228) and his “wife” was in reality a low-born French woman whom he does not seem to have married. His marriage to the daughter of a Greek emperor is, therefore, a fiction, but it is curious that the latter is made to reside at Mytilene. It was in fact during Robertus’ reign that Vatatzes regained Lesbos for the Greeks, and he may have resided there for a while. It should also be noted that at the very beginning of his reign, Robertus was engaged to Eudokia, daughter of the Nikaian emperor Theodoros I Laskaris, Vatatzes’ predecessor and father-in-law. It is probably impossible to differentiate between fact and fiction in the chronicle’s account of this unfortunate woman.

The other Western source postdates the Byzantine era: Marcantonio Coccio Sabellico, the erudite Renaissance writer who in the 1470s wrote a *History of Venice* also covering the period 1219-1284, considered that Lesbos served as Vatatzes’ fleet base for his campaign against the Venetians on Crete. He dates this event to 1231 after the doge ordered Marco Sanudo to sail to Crete and confirm Venetian rule. Vatatzes sent a fleet, but things turned out to be harder than predicted.

Vatatzes was the first Byzantine emperor who set foot on the island as a warrior, not an exile. The date of his reconquest of the island may find some confirmation in the date of the *sigillion* referring to Ioannes Serbes [*PRK* I 498, act no. 86 (= *MM* I 125)].

S a) Gregoras, *History* 2.3, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1, pp. 28-29: “ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμειος ἡύξησε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, δεξιὸς οἰκονόμος φανεὶς καὶ κυβερνήτης ἄριστος τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁλκάδος. Ναὺς τε γὰρ μακρὰς κατεσκευακῶς οὐκ ὀλίγας, ναυστολεῖ πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τὸν Αἰγαῖον νήσους, καὶ πάσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ λαμβάνει, Λέσβον καὶ Χίον, Σάμον τε καὶ Ἰκαρίαν καὶ Κῶ καὶ ὅσαι ταύταις εἰσὶ προσεχείς· οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαβάς καὶ ἐς Ῥόδον, ἐγκρατὴς καὶ αὐτῆς ἀναδείκνυται.”; German tr.: Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte*, v. 1 pp. 28–29.

b) Dandolo, *Chronica*, ed. PASTORELLO p. 295: “Imperator del Çagora Iohani Vatacio, qui se in Natholino colegerat, scribit ut secum parentelam faciat, et Latinos a parte orientali invadat, et ipse idem faciet in parte occidua.”

c) *Libro de los fechos* 73 (p. 19): “Et il gouverna et tint l’empire un long temps, jusqu’à ce que son neveu fût en âge de pouvoir gouverner ledit empire, et puis il mourut. Et ledit Henri son neveu fut couronné empereur et prit pour femme la fille de l’empereur grec qui était en la contrée de Mitylène.” (French tr.).

d) Sabellicus, *Historiae rerum veneticarum*, ed. LOVISA p. 202: "...tum ille in tanto Reipublicae discriminae haud cessandum ratus, armis repente sumptis in Cretam transmisit: ibi ad cohibendos hostium motus opportuno loco oppidum fundasse dicitur. Ea re territi hostes, nihil tamen ex sua pertinacia remittentes, ad Joannem Vatatzum (qui Lesbum insulam in Aegeo mari habebat, quique non pauca alia Imperii loca ad eam diem armis occuparat, adeo ut se jam pro Graeciae imperatore gereret) mittunt: cui per legatos insulae praeceptum ejectis Venetis promittunt si tempestiva sibi mitteret auxilia, atque ea ipsa tam valida, ut ad ejicendum hostem satis essent virium suffectura." *ibid.* p. 203: "...Et quia... videret Vatatzanae classis praefectus, bellum in dies sibi et suis magis, quam Venetis fore laboriosum, constituit insula abire. Impositis itaque suis in naves, quas ex Lesbo duxerat, relictas Venetis Creta, repente in altum abiit. Ea classis postea quantacunque fuit, ad Cythera insulam foedissima tempestate jactata, praeter tria minora navigia, tota fluctibus absumpta est."

Bibl.: MELIARAKES, Ἱστορία 158; ANGOLD, *Government* 197; SETTON, *Papacy* 52; TREADGOLD, *History* 723-730; LANGDON, John III Ducas Vatatzes 237-238; For the history of events and marriages, see WOLFF, *Latin Empire*.

208. Ioannes V Palaiologos (Ἰωάννης Παλαιολόγος)

D Early spring of 1354

B Byzantine emperor (1341-1376, 1379-1391); son of Andronikos III Palaiologos and Anna of Savoy. His ascension to the throne at the age of nine sparked the civil war of 1341-1347. He finally became co-emperor with, and son-in-law of, his adversary Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos. However, in 1352, this imperial partnership was dissolved and a new civil war broke out between the two, each receiving support from foreign allies (Serbs, Bulgarians, and Genoese - Turks and Venetians). By the end of the same year the two opponents and their allies fought a battle by the river Marica (Hebros). Kantakouzenos won and Ioannes V retreated to Tenedos where he remained until early 1353, when he fled to Thessalonike, then governed by his mother Anna. In the meantime Kantakouzenos proclaimed his son Matthaios co-emperor, deposed his son-in-law, and sanctioned the election of a new patriarch, Philotheos Kokkinos. On his part, Ioannes V returned from Thessalonike to Tenedos. Yet, according to Gregoras, prior to that, he sailed with a fleet of four triremes, diremes, and smaller ships to the islands of NE Aegean, namely Lemnos, Samothrake, Imbros, and Lesbos. He was there assured that the inhabitants remained faithful to him. In the summer of 1354 Kantakouzenos went to Tenedos to meet Ioannes V, but his venture was met with hostility both from the soldiers on the island and some of his own officers who secretly supported the young emperor. Finally, on 22 or 23 November, 1354, Ioannes V sailed from Tenedos to Constantinople and was reinstated in power following an agreement with Kantakouzenos. Shortly afterwards, the latter abdicated and was tonsured a monk.

Ioannes V's journey to the islands of the NE Aegean is not mentioned by Kantakouzenos.

S Gregoras, *History* 29.5, ed. SCHOPEN v. 3 p. 226.10-16: "...ἄρας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης ὁ Παλαιολόγος ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης τριήρεσι τε καὶ διήρεσι τέτρασι καὶ μονήρεσι πλείοσιν, Λήμνῳ μὲν πρῶτον προσέσχε τῇ νήσῳ κάκειθεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην καὶ Ἰμβρον διέβη, κάκειθεν εἰς Λέσβον ὁμοίως· καὶ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ παρουσίᾳ βεβαιώσας καὶ ἐπιρρώσας ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πίστιν ἀμφιρρεπεῖς τὸ πρότερον ὄντας, τέλος τοῖς Τενεδίοις λιμέσιν ὁρμίζεται..."; German tr.: Gregoras, *Rhömäische Geschichte*, v. 5 pp. 174-175.

Related source: Kantakouzenos, *History* 4.38, ed. SCHOPEN v. 3, p. 276.

Bibl.: PLP 21485; PAPADOPOULOS, *Genealogie* no. 73 (p. 46-47); NICOL, *Abdication*; IDEM, *Kantakouzenos* 79-81; IDEM, *Last Centuries* 246-251; FAILLER, *Jean Cantacuzène* 293-302; ŽIVOJINOVIĆ, *Jovan V Paleolog*; RADIĆ, *Vreme Jovana* 80-81; ZACHARIADOU, *Changing Masters* 202-203.

209. Ioannes archiepiscopus of Mytilene (Iohannes)

D 1205

B His name is attested in the so-called *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, which relates the capture and murder of the Latin emperor Balduin I by "Iohannicius, Bulgarie et Blackarie domnus," i.e., the tsar Kalojan. According to the account of a presbyter from Flanders recorded in the *Chronicle*, the Latin

archbishop of Mytilene and a certain abbot Albert, who was passing through Trnovo (Ternoa) in that year, agreed that Balduin was executed in a cruel way. This execution was prompted by Kalojan's wife. After she failed to induce Balduin to take her as a wife to Constantinople in exchange for his liberation, she denounced him to her husband as the one to have made this proposal.

The appointment of Iohannes no doubt followed the *Partitio terrarum Romanie* and the transition of Lesbos to the Latin emperor of Constantinople. The above episode shows him to be a rather long-term absentee from his see.

Fedalto lists him in both the Greek and Latin incumbents of the metropolitan see of Mytilene. Yet this Ioannes may have been identical with Ioannes no. 210 or even Iohannes no. 211.

- S** *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. P. SCHEFFER-BOICORST, *MGH XXIII*. Leipzig 1925 885: "...ad hoc etiam, quod in Ternoa fuerit occisus, consentit dominus archiepiscopus Iohannes Mitilenensis, et unus monachus magister Albertus, qui eodem anno ibi per Ternoam transitum habuit." English tr. in ANDREA, *Contemporary Sources* 308.

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 216; IDEM, *Chiesa latina* 160; KROUSOULOUDIS, Σχέσεις τοῦ λατίνου 65-66.

210. Ioannes archiepiscopus of Mytilene (I[<ohannes>])

D November 1215-(27 February and 9 March 1222)-20 April 1240

B A monk of the Cistercian order. Owing to the high cost of maintenance, during the tenure of office of this archbishop, the pope Honorius III (1216-1227) merged the sees of Mytilene, Assos, and Methymna, making the last two suffragans of the first. As a result of the reconquest of the island by Ioannes III Vatatzes, Ioannes fled to the West where he lived until the end of his life.

He may have been identical with Ioannes no. 209 and Iohannes no. 211.

- S** a) 27 February 1222: *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. TAUTU no. 92 (p. 121): "...archiepiscopo Mytilenensi. ... Cum igitur dilectus filius noster I[<ohannes>] tituli S. Praxedis presbyter cardinalis, tunc Apostolicae sedis legatus Absonensem, ecclesiam Ephesiensi ecclesiae, quae sedi Apostolicae inobediens et rebellis existit, olim metropolitico iure subiectam necnon ecclesiam Molivensem in tua provincia constitutam, cum propter tenuitatem reddituum proprios habere non posset episcopos, ecclesiae tuae duxerit adiungendas, nos iustis precibus tuis benignum impertientes assenouim, adiunctionem ipsam, sicut provide facta est, auctoritate apostolica roborantes, ecclesias ipsas ac alias possessiones et redditus ab eodem legato ecclesiae tuae pia et provida consideratione collatos, sicut ea omnia iuste possides et quiete et in litteris eiusdem legati super hoc factis plenius continetur, tibi et per te ipsi ecclesiae auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et praesentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo etc. nostrae confirmationis infringere. Si quis autem etc. ..." (= Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Registri Vaticani* v. 6, ep. 241, f. 201); summary in PRESSUTTI, *Regesta Honorii Papae III* v. 2 no. 3833 (p. 48).
b) 9 March 1222 (= Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Registri Vaticani* v. 6, ep. 261, f. 205): summary in PRESSUTTI, *Regesta Honorii Papae III* v. 2 no. 3816 (p. 45): "concedit ut extra suam provinciam officium pontificale exercere possit, ita tamen quod interim palleo non utatur."

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Chiesa latina* 160; EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica* 354; R. FOREVILLE, *Latran I, II, III et Latran IV (Histoire des conciles œcuméniques* v. 6). Paris 1965 391; KROUSOULOUDIS, Σχέσεις τοῦ λατίνου 65-66; WOLFF, *Latin Patriarchate* 46.

211. Iohannes archiepiscopus of Mytilene (Iohannes)

D 1238

B Owner of a wax seal, kept in the Archives of Haute-Marne in France and first published by Schlumberger on the basis of a stamp communicated to him by Mr de Fleury. It was presented in more detail by Poutiers who declared that he was going to revise Schlumberger's work. He also noted the entry of the seal: 1 H 78, fonds de l'abbaye d'Auberive.

The metropolitan in question was a Cistercian and belonged to the Latin clergy that was established in Byzantium after 1204. It is far from certain that he ever set foot in his diocese; in other words, he must have been a titular clergyman.

He may have been identical with Ioannes nos 213 and 214.

- S** SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie no. 138, pl. XI.3 (p. 222): The archbishop seated on a throne, holding a long cross in his left hand; the object that he holds in his right hand is not discernible. Circular inscription: s'Iohannis mitile[nensis a]rchiepiscopi.

Bibl.: FEDALTO, Chiesa latina, v. 2 160; POUTIERS, Gustave Schlumberger 164-165 (photo on 165); OIKONOMIDES, Seals published 1931-1986 172; KROUSOULOUDIS, Σχέσεις τοῦ λατίνου 65-66.

212. Ioannes metropolitan of Mytilene (Ἰωάννης)

- D** End of 13th c. (April of the 13th indiction = April, 1285 or April, 1300)

B His name appears both in an imperial *prostagma* signed by Andronikos II and a synodic act granting significant privileges to the metropolitan of Monembasia. The date given is 13th indiction, which may refer to either 1285 or 1300. Laurent, who disputed the authenticity of both documents, assigned its composition to the end of the 14th c. However, the forger must have relied on two real documents, a *prostagma* of Andronikos II and a synodic decree. Laurent considered the year 1300 a more plausible date for the composition of the “genuine” *prostagma*.

PLP dates his tenure as metropolitan until 1285; nonetheless, Ioannes must have been a successor to Demetrios, i.e., after 1285.

- S** LAURENT, Faux de la diplomatie patriarcale 147 (no. 8): “τοῦ Μιτυλήνης καὶ ὑπερτίμου Ἰωάννου.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 8619; LAURENT, Faux de la diplomatie patriarcale 151; GRUMEL, Titulature 169-171.

213. Ioannes metropolitan of Mytilene

- D** 5 Dec. 1353-before 14 Nov. 1375

B Mentioned in a papal letter dated 5 December, 1353.

The name of the next Latin archbishop of Mytilene, Arnaldus de Molendino, is attested in a letter of the pope Gregorius XI dated 14 November, 1375.

- S** Innocentius VI (1352-1362), a. I: *Register Vaticanus* 244, f. 167^v-168.

Bibl.: FEDALTO, Chiesa latina, v. 2 160.

214. Ioseph metropolitan of Mytilene (Ἰωσήφ)

- D** Before 1256

B He is mentioned in a patriarchal document dated November 1261 as having denounced to the patriarchal synod the patriarchal exarchs for usurping the jurisdiction of the monasteries of Kato Ptomaia (or -oi), Hosios Gregorios, and Aristai. These foundations were subject to the metropolitan see of Mytilene, but, when for some reason Ioseph was detained (or had a long sojourn) in Nikaia, the patriarchal exarchs took the opportunity to appropriate them. Once Ioseph returned to his see, he did not stop reminding the patriarch Arsenios about the injustice.

Judging from this fact, we can infer that Ioseph's metropolitanate partly coincided with the first patriarchate of Arsenios (1255-1260).

- S** *PRK* I 492, act no. 83 (= *MM* I 123): “ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ μητροπολίτης ἔφασκεν, ὡς μέχρι καὶ τοῦ Μιτυλήνης ἐκείνου Ἰωσήφ ἀναφαίρετα ἦσαν τὰ μητροπολιανὰ δίκαια ἐν ταῖς ῥηθείσαις μοναῖς, ἐξότου δὲ ἐπεσχέθη ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου, ἄδειαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ εὐράμενοι οἱ πατριαρχικοὶ ἑξάρχοι ἀπέσπασαν ταύτας τῶν μητροπολιανῶν δικαίων καὶ ιδιοποίησαντο, ἀνεμνήσθη ἡ μετρίότης ἡμῶν, ὡς περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μητρόπολιν Μιτυλήνης δικαίων ἔγραφε πολλάκις αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης ἐκεῖνος Ἰωσήφ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταστάς, ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πατριαρχικῶν ἐξάρχων ἡδίκηται.”

Bibl.: LAURENT, Regestes 1358; FEDALTO, Hierarchia 216; KARYDONES, Σταυροπηγιακά 219 (wrongly dating him around the year 1225); MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 193; IDEM, Τὰ χαριστικά 87-92.

215. Ioseph metropolitan of Mytilene (Ἰωσήφ)

D 30 June 1354 and 17 August 1355

B As a metropolitan he signed two synodal acts. The second and more secure referred to the relationship by marriage between the emperor Ioannes Palaiologos and the tsar of Bulgarians, Ioannes-Alexandros Asanes (“περὶ τῆς συμπενθερίας τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Βουλγάρων κῦρ Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀσάνη”). The first concerned the transfer of Alexios of Vladimir to the metropolitan see of Kiev and all Russia; the act is entitled “ἡ συνοδικῶς γεγонуῖα μετὰθεσις τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Βλαντιμήρου, κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου, ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγιωτάτην μητρόπολιν Κυέβου καὶ πάσης Ῥωσίας.” The name of the signatory bishops is missing from the document; however, it can be plausibly conjectured that Ioseph was the incumbent of the see at that time.

S *PRK* III 112, act no. 193 (= *MM* I 336): “... τοῦ Μιτυλήνης ...” and *ibid.* (= *MM* I 433): “ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης καὶ ὑπέρτιμος Ἰωσήφ.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 9038; *FEDALTO*, *Hierarchia* 216; *MOUTZOURES*, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 196; *DARROUZÈS*, *Regestes* 2363 and 2381.

216. Kale, daughter of Keladites Ioannes (Καλή)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Daughter of Ioannes Keladites and Theodora; sister of Niketas. She is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S *Actes de Lavra* II 155: “Ἰωάν[ης] ὁ Κελαδίτ(ης), ἔχ(ει) Θεο[δῶ]ρ(αν), υἱὸν Νικήτ(αν), θυγ(α)τ(έ)ρ(α) Καλ(ή)ν, βοῖδ(ιον) α΄, (χ)οίρους ζ΄, τέλος κο(κκίον) ἔν.”

217. Kale, wife of Doïtes Konstantinos (Καλή)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Wife of Konstantinos Doïtes. She is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S *Actes de Lavra* II 156: “Κω(νσταντῖνος) ὁ Δοῖτης ἔχ(ει) [Κ]αλ(ή)ν, αἰγίδ(ια) κη΄, χοί(ρους) β΄, τέλος κο(κκία) θ΄.”

218. Kale, wife of Tzagaris Georgios (Καλή)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Wife of Georgios Tzagaris; she had two daughters, Maria and Eirene. She is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S *Actes de Lavra* II 155: “Γεώργ(ιος) ὁ Τζαγκάρ(ις), ἔχ(ει) Καλ(ή)ν, θυγ(α)τ(έ)ρ(ας) Μαρ(ίαν) (καί) Εἰρή(νην), τέλος κο(κκία) δ΄.”

219. Kallistos I (Κάλλιστος Α΄)

D Summer 1326

B Author and patriarch of Constantinople (1350-1353, 1355-1363). Born towards the end of the 13th century, he became a disciple of St Gregorios of Sinai in the Sketis of Magoula on Mt Athos. He followed his teacher in setting out for the Paroria and to Mt Sinai. However, on this second voyage Gregorios,

Kallistos, and an anonymous monk decided not to sail further than the island of Chios. After that, they came to Lesbos and Mt Libanon, where they took up residence for some time. Unable to find a place of quietude, they left for Constantinople and then for the Paroria. Following their final return to Mt Athos and before the second journey of Gregorios to the Paroria, Kallistos and his friend the monk Markos came to live in the Sketis of Magoula. In 1350, he was designated by Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos as the successor of the patriarch Isidoros. A ship was sent to the Iviron monastery to ferry him to Constantinople. He occupied the patriarchal throne twice. In February 1354, he preferred to resign rather than sanction the enthronement of Matthaïos son of Ioannes Kantakouzenos which he regarded as illegal. After the dethronement of his successor Philotheos Kokkinos in 1355, he was again proclaimed patriarch of Constantinople. He died in 1363.

Among other works, he was the author of the *vita* of his teacher St Gregorios of Sinai, which contains some autobiographical details.

S Kallistos I, *Life of St Gregorios of Sinai* 15, ed. POMIALOVSKIJ pp. 33.32-34.6: text as in *Gregorios of Sinai, saint*.

Bibl.: PLP 10478; ODB 1095; FAILLER, Déposition; GONES, Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον 22-23 and 44-46; for the date of Gregorios' visit, see RIGO, Gregorio il Sinaita 41-44.

220. Kanaboutzes (Καν[ν]αβούτζης)

D Before 1324

B A *droungarios* mentioned in patriarchal acts nos. 79 and 80. He was the founder of a church dedicated to St Georgios. The church was involved in debate about the jurisdiction of a number of monasteries and churches, namely whether they belonged to the patriarchal exarch or the metropolitan of Mytilene. The case was decided in the latter's favour. The church was located close to the most holy *metropolis*, i.e., the cathedral of Mytilene.

By the expression τοῦ Κανναβούτζη ἐκείνου it can be inferred that this person was dead before 1324.

To our knowledge, the earliest attestation of the name Κανναβούτζης comes from the region of Stilo in Calabria; in 1054 the Kan(n)aboutzoi are documented to have owned estates, divided into six parts, in the surrounding area of the monastery of St Ioannes Theristes in Bivogni (see GUILLOU ET AL. Saint-Jean Theristès 41, doc. no 1.32). The name is later attested in the Palaiologan period, yet in most instances after the 14th c. The best known among them was Ioannes Kanaboutzes, an inhabitant of Old Phokaia and a commentator on Dionysios of Halikarnassos (see HUNGER and HINTERBERGER); his *floruit* must be placed in the 1440s and 1450s. The name of Augastarikes Kanaboutzes appears on an inscription in Ainos, Thrace, dating from 1420-1421 (ASDRACHA, see bibl.). A Demetrius Duchas Canavocius from Old Phokaia is known from a testament drawn up by the priest and *notarios* Manolis Skleros in Kallone on 15 September 1448 (MAZARAKIS, see bibl.). In the 16th c. members of the family figure in documents related to Chios. Finally, a field named Kanaboutsato is located ca. 6 km SW from the town of Chios (KODER, Aigaion 187).

S PRK I 464 and 474, acts nos. 79 and 80 (= MM I 114 and 117): “πρὸς τούτοις ἔσχε τὴν δικαίωσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Κανναβούτζη ἐκείνου τοῦ δρουγγαρίου ἀνεγερθέντι ναῷ εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ τροπαιοφόρου Γεωργίου, ἐπεὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ ἔγγιστα τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἁγιωτάτῃ μητροπόλει διακειμένου καὶ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ λαοῦ ἐν τούτῳ συναγομένου πλείστη φιλονικία καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀφορμαὶ σκανδάλων συμβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ ῥηθέντος ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Μιτυλήνης καὶ ὑπερτίμου” and “ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Κανναβούτζη ἐκείνου τοῦ δρουγγαρίου εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου ...”

Bibl.: DARROUZÈS, Regestes 2117-2118; HUNGER, Literatur v. 1 537; ASDRACHA, Inscriptions I 261263; HINTERBERGER, Ο πεζός λόγος; MAZARAKIS, Ταβουλάριος; IDEM, Προάστιο 344 (on the location of the church of Hagios Georgios); GUILLOU, MERCATI, GIANNELLI, Saint-Jean Theristès 41.

221. Keladites Ioannes (Ἰωάννης Κελαδίτης)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. He was the husband of Theodora and the father of Niketas and Kale; he owned an ox and six pigs, valued at one *kokkion*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: “Ἰωάν[ης] ὁ Κελαδίτ[ης], ἔχ[ει] Θεο[δω]ρ[αν], υἱὸν Νικήτ[αν], θυγ[α]τ[έ]ρ[α] Καλ[ήν], βοῖδ[ιον] α', (χ)οίρους ζ', τέλος κο[κκίον] ἕν.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 11614.

222. Komes (Κόμης)

D Early 13th c.?

B A beneficiary of St Gregorios of Assos' posthumous miracles; disputing the miraculous power of the saint's staff that turned into a walnut tree and considering it a work of magic, he came with a mob close to the tree and, apart from uttering curses against the saint, cut down his tree. Falling ill with paralysis, he remained bedridden at home until, after many years (χρόνοις ἐπὶ πολλοῖς) he repented. Once he approached the saint's coffin and the cut tree, he was restored to health.

His story is recorded only in the *Synaxarion* notice by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (*BHG* 710c).

As a family name, Komes is attested in documents signed in the region of Smyrne between 1207 and 1214: see *MM* VI 152, 171 and SARADI, Notariat, 230. A Komes *hypatos ton philosophon* and *didaskalos tou euaggeliou* was also the author of an *Enkomion* to St Nestor (*BHG* 2291); see KOTZABASSI, *Enkomion auf den hl. Nestor*. See also *PLP* 12013-12019.

S *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (*Synaxarion*), ed. HALKIN pp. 33-34; ed. SOPHIANOS p. 351: “Καὶ ὁ τὴν κλῆσιν Κόμης, κλινήρης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ γενόμενος, οἴκαδε βασταζόμενος ἀνεφέρετο, κἂν ἐσύτερον χρόνοις ἐπὶ πολλοῖς πλείστα μογήσας καὶ εἰς συναίσθησιν ἔλθων, τῇ τοῦ ἀγίου σορῶ προοριφεῖς καὶ τῇ ἐκκοπέισι παρ' αὐτοῦ ῥάβδω, ὑγιῆς ἀνεδείχθη.”

223. Kometanos Georgios (Κομητάνος Γεώργιος)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. Because the text is corrupt, the amount of *kokkia* that his property was valued at cannot be determined.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “Γεώργιος ὁ Κομητάν[ος], τέλος κο[κκία] ... ”

Bibl.: *PLP* 12021.

224. Ko(n)stantza from Pergamon (Κωνσταντζα or Κωσταντζα Περγαμηνή)

D 13th c.

B A rich woman from Pergamon and a beneficiary of St Gregorios of Assos' posthumous miracles. Suffering from a serious disease and informed about the saint's miracles, on the day of the commemoration of the saint she climbed the miraculous walnut tree (the former walking stick of the saint) in order to collect nuts but the tree split in half when she began to climb. Afraid, she ran to the holy-water fountain which, however, as soon as she came near, dried up. Once the woman confessed her sins aloud and the procession of priests and the crowd propitiated God, water sprang anew from the fountain. As long as the woman was alive, she used to visit the saint's place and celebrate the day of his commemoration with pomp and circumstance. She also performed works of charity.

The story of Ko(n)stantza is placed by the author of the long version, preserved in *Patmiacus gr.* 448, after the lapse of many years (πολλῶν ... παραρρυνέντων ἐνιαυτῶν) and following the death of the saint's mother. On the contrary, in the short version, preserved in MS Megisti Lavra 1824/Ω 14, the miracle took place while the saint's mother was still alive. Given the saint's chronology (sec. half of 12th c.) it is plausible to set this story no earlier than the 13th c.

The episode is missing from the *Synaxarion* notice by Xanthopoulos (*BHG* 710c).

- S** a) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Patmos), ed. HALKIN p. 29; ed. SOPHIANOS pp. 345-346: “Πολλῶν τοίνυν παραρρυνέντων ἐνιαυτῶν, γυνή τις Περγαμηνή πλουσία, Κωνσταντζα λεγομένη, νόσῳ δεινοτάτῃ κατασχεθεῖσα καὶ ἀκούσασα τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου θαυμάτων, ἐκ πίστεως ἐπικαλεσαμένη αὐτὸν παραδόξως ἰάθη. Κα<τὰ> τὴν μνήμην δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὴ παραγενομένη καὶ ἐν τῇ γυναικείᾳ ταύτης ἀσθενεῖα εὐρεθεῖσα καὶ μὴ προσχοῦσα τῷ πάθει, ἐπὶ τὴν καρύαν τε δραμοῦσα, ἥτις πρότερον ῥάβδος ἦν τοῦ ἁγίου, ἐπὶ τὸ ἄραι καὶ ταύτην κάρνα ὡς τοὺς λοιπούς, πατήσασα τὸ δένδρον, ἐσχίσθη μέσον. Ἰδοῦσά τε τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ φόβῳ ληφθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τοῦ ἁγιάσματος ἔδραμεν· ἅμα δὲ τῷ προσεγγίσει τῷ ὕδατι ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς, ἐξηράνθη. Μεγαλοφώνως δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τὸ πάθος ἐξομολογησαμένη, λιτανευσάντων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ πολλὰς ποιησάντων παρακλήσεις μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους, ἔτι τε ἐκτενεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς προσευχάς, καὶ ἰλεωσαμένων τὸ θεῖον, μόλις ὥράθη καὶ αὐτὴς ἀναβαῖνον τὸ ὕδωρ κάτωθεν τῶν τῆς γῆς λαγόνων, συνήθως τε πορευόμενον· καὶ ἔκτοτε οὐ διέλιπεν ἕως τοῦ νῦν. Ἡ δὲ σχισθεῖσα καρύα κάτωθεν ἔχει μέσον τοῦ κορμοῦ τὸ σχῆμα σφζόμενον μέχρι τὴν σήμερον. Ἡ γυνὴ τοίνυν, <ὡς> ἐν τοῖς ζώσιν ἦν, κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐρχομένη τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἁγίου φιλοτίμως καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐξετέλει, καταβαλλομένη τε ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων πᾶσαν τὴν ἔξοδον δαψιλέστατα. Ὡρᾶτο δὲ παρισταμένη πάντας καὶ ἐκδουλεύουσα, φιλοφρόνως τε δεξιουμένη πάντας καὶ ὑπηρετοῦσα. Ἀπὸ τότε γοῦν καὶ ἕως ἄρτι παρήλθον ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα ἔτη.”
- b) *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (Megiste Lavra), ed. SOPHIANOS pp. 317-318: “Τυνὴ δὲ τις Περγαμηνὴ πλουσία, Κωνσταντζα λεγομένη, νόσῳ κατασχεθεῖσα δεινοτάτῃ καὶ ἀκ ούσασα τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου θαυμάτων, ἐκ πίστεως ἐπικαλεσαμένη αὐτόν, ἰάθη. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς μνήμης αὐτοῦ παραγενομένη καὶ ἐν τῇ γυναικείᾳ ταύτης ἀσθενεῖα εὐρεθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τὴν καρύαν τε δραμοῦσα καὶ πατήσασα τὸ δέ<ν>δρον, ἐσχίσθη μέσον. Καὶ τρόπῳ ληφθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τοῦ ἁγιάσματος ἔδραμεν· ἅμα δὲ τῷ προσεγγίσει, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐξηράνθη. Μεγαλοφώνως ἡ γυνὴ τὸ πάθος ἐξομολογησαμένη, λιτανευσάντων τῶν ἱερέων μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἰλεωσαμένων τὸ θεῖον, μόλις ὥράθη καὶ αὐτὴς ἀναβαῖνον τὸ ὕδωρ κάτωθεν τῶν τῆς γῆς λαγόνων, συνήθως τε πορευόμενον ἔκτοτε καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐ διέλιπε<ν>. Ἡ δὲ σχι<σ>θεῖσα καρύα κάτωθεν ἔχει μέσον τοῦ κορμοῦ τὸ σχῆμα σφζόμενον μέχρι τὴν σήμερον. Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου μνήμην κατ’ ἔτος λαμπρῶς ἐξετέλει. Ὡρᾶτο δὲ παρισταμένη πάντας καὶ ἐκδουλεύουσα, φιλοφρόνως τε δεξιουμένη πάντας καὶ ὑπηρετοῦσα.”

225. Krebbatas (Κρεββατᾶς)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A person attested in the left margin of the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos; as words are missing from the text, no other element of his identity can be determined.

In *PLP* he is referred to as a landowner. On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “... τοῦ Κρεββατ(ᾶ), εἰς τὸ μικρ(ὸν) βάλτ(ον) (καὶ) εἰς τὸν Βαλαριδ(ην) (καὶ) μυλοτόπιον ὁ Μαλεάδης.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 13274.

226. Kyrillos metropolitan of Sardis (Κύριλλος)

D Between 1298-1315, probably 1305

B Metropolitan of Sardis in a period when the town was suffering from the attacks of Turks. In 1305, an imperial and synodic decree awarded him the administration of the see of Methymna in Lesbos and he was forced to depart from Constantinople. The see was until then administered by the metropolitan of Crete Nikephoros Moschopoulos. Like many bishops at that time, Kyrillos was the target of the patriarch

Athanasios I, who was not pleased at all with ecclesiastics who preferred to reside in the capital rather than in their sees.

In signatures of ecclesiastical acts and documents he appears as “ὁ μητροπολίτης Σάρδεων ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἑξαρχος πάσης Λυδίας Κύριλλος” (see recto of copy B of a *chrysoboullon* of Andronikos II Palaiologos issued in 1298: Actes de Lavra II 76). His “appointment” to the see of Methymna is referred to in a letter of Athanasios I addressed to the metropolitan of Crete Nikephoros Moschopoulos. LAURENT, Regestes 1613 and 1627, dated the letter to the year 1305, when, according to Pachymeres (*History* 13.23), the patriarch took a staunch stance on this matter. It is preserved in cod. *Alexandrinus* 288 (*olim Cairensis* 911), f. 159-160, and *Vaticanus gr.* 2219 (*olim Colonensis* 58), f. 130^v-132^v, and published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus on the basis of the former manuscript. A Latin translation was published in *PG* 142 cols 513-516.

- S** PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Νικηφόρος Μοσχόπουλος 218-219 (variants of the *Vaticanus gr.* 2219, f. 132, are in parenthesis): “... ἐντεῦθεν (-αὐθα) διαναστὰς ἐν ζήλῳ ἐπαινετῶ καὶ ὁ ἱερώτατος Σάρδεων καθεκτὸς οὐδαμῶς κεχηρημάτικε τοῦ βουλευμάτος, εὐτόνως δραμεῖν ἐπ’ ἀναζητήσει τῆς ποιμνῆς καὶ τῶν οικείων προβάτων, ὅσα ἐν μέσῳ κινδυνώδη καὶ σκῶλα καὶ γῆρας καὶ τοῦ καινοῦ (-ροῦ) τὸ ἀλλόκοτον ὑπέρτερος τούτων ἀπάντων τῇ προθυμίᾳ φανείς· ὃν καὶ ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοκράτωρ μου κρίνας ἐπαινετὸν καὶ πρὸς τὰ σωτήρια ὀφείλοντα διεγείρας αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀρμοδίας καὶ ἀσφαλούς προενοήσατο ἄριστα. Τίς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια; Ἦν κατ’ ἐπίδοσιν ἕως ἄρτι ἐπιδόσεως λόγῳ κατεῖχεν ἡ σὴ ἱερότης Μεθύμνων μητρόπολιν, συνοδικῶς αὐτῶ καὶ βασιλικῶς δοθῆναι καὶ συνεβούλευσε καὶ πεπλήρωκε, τοῦτο μὲν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κυβέρνησιν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τῇ μητροπόλει λαοῦ καιρικὴν καὶ σωτήριον διεξαγωγὴν ...”; Latin tr.: *PG* 142 col 516A-B.

Bibl.: *PLP* 14043; LAURENT, Regestes 1613 and 1627; also 2016; LAURENT, Corpus, V/1 260-261; IDEM, Notes de géographie 192; IDEM, Mélanges de géographie 319 and 321; FOSS, Sardis 88-89; Athanasios I, *Letter* 25, ed. TALBOT 56 and 333 (commentary).

227. Kyritzes (Κυρίτζης)

D Before November 1261

- B** A functionary of the patriarchate rather than of the Church of Lesbos. His name appears in the patriarchal document signed by the patriarch Arsenios Autorianos referring to the dispute between the metropolitan Gregorios of Mytilene and the monasteries of Hosios Gregorios and Aristai. Kyritzes seems to have inserted a note in the document by virtue of which the patriarchal exarch and *ostiarios* Timotheos was allowed to enter the aforementioned monasteries.

For a *chartophylax* named Manuel Kyritzes but much earlier than the one here see LAURENT Regestes 1210. As a last name Kyritzes is also attested in a S. Italian document dating from 1045: Fr. TRINCHERA, *Syllabus graecarum* 42, no. 34.

- S** *PRK* I 490, act 83 (= *MM* I 122-123): “ἐκ τῆς παρεκβολῆς τῆς ἐνσεσημασμένης παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίτζη εἰς τὰς μονὰς ταύτας εἰσέρχεσθαι ὥρμητο, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρεκβολῇ ταύτῃ ἀπεφάνθησαν τινὰ συνοδικῶς ἂ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Γέρρας σημειώματι περιλαμβάνονται ...”

Bibl.: *PLP* 14065; LAURENT, Regestes 1358.

228. Laskaris Manuel (Λάσκαρις Μανουήλ)

D 1327

- B** An army commander whom (together with Andronikos Tornikes) the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos ordered to withdraw the Koumanoi mercenary troops from Thrace and take them to the islands of Lemnos, Thasos, and Lesbos. These troops had followed Michael IX from Dalmatia (cf. Gregoras, *History* 7.4, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1, p. 229.5).

A document from the monastery of Chilandar on Mt Athos dated 1320 is signed by Manuel Doukas Laskaris *domestikos* of the *scholai* of the West and governor (κεφαλὴ) of Thessalonike (*PLP* 14549); see Actes de Chilandar no. 54, p. 131.

S Kantakouzenos, *History* 1.51, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1, p. 259.7-10): "... προστάξαντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου βασιλέως, ὁ Τορνίκης Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ ὁ Λάσκαρις Μανουὴλ ἀνέστησάν τε ἀπὸ Θράκης καὶ ταῖς νήσοις Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσῳ ἐγκατέκισαν καὶ τῇ Λέσβῳ."; German tr.: Kantakuzenos, *Geschichte* v. 1 p. 177.

Bibl.: *PLP* 14546; DÖLGER, *Regesten* 2586 and 2436; *ODB* 647-648 (on the *Domestikos* of the *Scholai tes Dyseos*); GUILLAND, *Recherches* v. 1, 455; LEMERLE, *Philippes* v. 1 224 and n. 8; SCHMALZBAUER, *Prosopographie* 109; MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Byzantine Provincial Administration* 119.

229. Lazaros (Λάζαρος)

D Second half of 13th c.

B *Protopapas* of the bishopric of Eresos who, along with the *skeuophylax* Thomopoulos, asserted in writing that the monastery of the Archangel Michael (the so-called Akronesiotes) in the area of Basilika was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Mytilene. Both he and Thomopoulos are referred to as persons of old age and trustworthy.

S *PRK* I 464 and 474, acts nos. 79 and 80 (= *MM* I 114 and 117): "οἱ τῷ τότε ἱεουργήσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι, ὃ τε σκευοφύλαξ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς ὁ Θωμόπουλος καὶ ὁ πρωτοπαπᾶς ταύτης ὁ Λάζαρος ἐγγράφως ἐξησφάλισαντο, γηραιοὶ ἄνδρες καὶ ἀξιόπιστοι ..."

Bibl.: *PLP* 14353; DARROUZÈS, *Regestes* 2117-2118; KRAUS, *Kleriker im späten Byzanz* 236-237.

230. Lecavella Simone

D 11, 25, 29, and 30 November, 1351

B A Genoese admiral; he participated in the naval expedition under the command of Paganino Doria aiming at securing Pera against the Venetians. At the beginning his galley was originally manned with 168 sailors and 20 officers and fighters expert in ballistics, to whom recruits from Gaeta, Messina, and Chios were later added. Sailing from Crotone in Calabria on 21 September, 1351, he arrived at Nigroponte (Euboia) on 1 October, 1351, and joined the fleet of Doria as it departed for Chios. Lecavella stationed there for 14 days in order to recruit more crew. On 21 October he sailed from Chios to Naxos, then Siphnos, finally Monembasia. He was confronted by the united naval forces of the Venetians and Catalans but managed to find refuge on Cervi (Elaphonesos) and then return to Chios. As Doria had already sailed away, he stayed on the island for a single day. On the morning of Friday, 11 November, 1351, his galley departed from the Porto Darfino (modern Paralia Lankados) on the NW coast of Chios and in the evening of the same day it sailed into the port of Sigrion (Secli). On the next day Lecavella sailed for Cratea (Cavo della Greca) on the south of the Gallipoli peninsula. After almost fifteen days, on the evening of Friday, 25 November, he sailed back to the port of Sigrion and the next morning departed for Chios. Three days later, Sigrion became again his galley's stopping-off point for a whole night (29 to 30 November).

The "chronicle" of Lecavella's voyages was recorded in the ship's journal.

S a) Archivio di Stato di Genova, Antico Comune, Galearum Marinariorum Ratio no 1351, f. 95^v, col B, nos. 1-4, ed. in: BALARD, Paganino Doria 463: a) "...Die veneris in man[e X]I noenbris sep[aravimus de Darfino] // Ea [di]e in sero apri[cuim[us] a Portu Secri // D[ie] sabato in ma[ne] XII noenb[ris] se[p]aravimus da Se[cri] // Ea die in sero apricuimus a Cratea ..." and ibid. 463-464: "...Die veneris in mane XXV noenbris separavimus de cavo Sancta [Mari]a // Ea die in sero apricuimus in Portu Secri // Die sabato in mane XXVI noenbris separavimus de Secri // Ea die in sero apricuimus in Porto Sio // Die dominicha in mane XXVII noenbris separavimus de Portu Sio et venimus a Darfino // Die lunis in mane XXVII noenbris separavimus da Darfin[o] // Die marteris in sero XXVIII noenbris separavimus de [Secri] // Die jovis in mane prima decenbris apricuimus in Cratea ..."

Bibl.: as in *Doria Paganino*.

231. de Lluria Roger (Ruggerio de Lauria, Ruggerio de Loria, Roger de Loria, Roger de Lauria, Rogiers de Lurye)

D Summer 1292

B A Calabrian, born in Scala around 1250, fleeing to Aragon when his lands were confiscated by Charles of Anjou in 1266 (MOTT, *Sea Power* 93). He was appointed admiral of the fleet by Pedro III of Aragon in 1283 (ibid. 30, 92), replacing the king's own son. In the summer of 1292 with 30 galleys he ravaged Lesbos and then the islands Chios, Lemnos, Kythnos (Thermia), Tenos, Andros, Mykonos, as well as the coast of the Peloponnese. He then returned to Sicily with so much loot that "five such fleets as his might have been paid out of it."

While providing an extensive account of de Lluria's activity in the Peloponnese, the *Chronicle of Morea*, both in its Aragonese and French versions, briefly mentions that he conquered first Chios and then Monembasia. The latter, more detailed, version records that on Chios de Lluria recruited volunteers for his fleet.

S Muntaner, *Crònica* 117, ed. BAGUÉ p. 63; *Chronicle of Muntaner*, tr. GOODENOUGH p. 292: "And afterwards, he made another expedition and went to Romania, and harried the islands of Mytilene and Lemnos and Thermia and Tinos and Andros and Mykonos, and then he harried the island of Chios, where mastic is made, and he took the city of Monevasia, and returned to Sicily..."

Related sources: a) *Libro de los fechos* 487, ed. MOREL-FATIN p. 107: "Roger de Luria vint avec dix galères et quatre navires dans les parties de Romanie et prit Chios et prit Monembasie et gagna beaucoup d'autres choses..." (French tr.); b) *Chronique de Morée* 758-761, ed. LONGNON pp. 300-301.

Bibl.: LAIOU, Constantinople and the Latins 46; LOENERTZ, Les Ghisi 105-106 and n. 3; BERG, Manfred of Sicily; KIESEWETTER, Karls II. von Anjou; MOTT, *Sea Power* 255.

232. Machrames (Μαχράμης)

D Summer 1304

B A man in imperial service acquainted with the emperor Andronikos II. He resided in Skamandros (a town in NW Asia Minor), but, following the conquest of the region of Ida by the Turks, moved along with many others to the fortress of Assos. As the most valorous of the defendants, he was entrusted by the locals with the leadership of the castle without notifying or involving the emperor. However, because the Turks were sacking the hinterland, the besieged decided to flee to the opposite coast on Lesbos, leaving empty the castle of Assos. Unable to dissuade them, Machrames departed with them. After a few days, Roger de Flor, the Catalan *meas doux*, swooped down on the island. Together with many others, Machrames was arrested and put to the wheel. Charged for abandoning Assos, he had to give five thousand golden *nomismata* to regain his freedom; he managed to collect only one hundred. As finding the ransom became a too slow process, the Catalan leader ordered that Machrames be immediately decapitated. He suffered a cruel and atrocious death: first his hair was tied with straps and his neck stretched and heavily squeezed on a block of wood. His torturous execution was performed in front of an unnamed tax-collector who was about to suffer the same fate, but was finally able to gather the ransom from the Genoese.

Machrames must have been a last name, apparently of Arabic origin; notably, Assos was renamed Machrames, apparently after the name of his temporary defendant (see Doukas, *History* 44.4, ed. GRECU p. 417.4: "μέχρι Ἀσσοῦ πόλεως, ἣ νῦν καλεῖται Μαχράμην," and Ioannes Kanaboutzes, *Commentary*, ed. LEHNERDT p. 47.3-4: "...ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσοῦ ἦν λέγομεν σήμερον Μαχράμην").

S Pachymeres, *History* 11.26, ed. FAILLER pp. 481-483: "Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ ταλαιπῶρῳ Μαχράμῃ κατὰ τὴν Μιτυλήνην γέγονει· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὢν καὶ τῇ οἰκειότητι κλειζόμενος, ἀνὰ τὸν (recte: τὴν) Σκάμανδρον τὰς οἰκῆσεις κατεῖχεν... φθάνει καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν πολλοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ τῆς Ἀσσοῦ φρούριον ὑπεισδῶναι... Ἐπεὶ δέ, δηουμένων τῶν ἐξωτέρῳ, τέλος αὐτοῦς ἔμελλε περιστῆναι τὰ χαλεπά, τὸ δρᾶσαι τι γενναῖον οὐκ ἔχοντες, εἰ προσμένειεν, πρὸς φυγὴν ὤρων καὶ προαπανίσταντο, ἀγκάλας σφίσιν ὥς καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ἐξ ἐγγίονος προτεινούσης τῆς Μιτυλήνης, καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν

σκοπῶν, ἕκαστος ἡλόγει τοῦ ἄγοντος καὶ τῆς ἐκουσίου ἀνεῖτο ὑποταγῆς· ἐφ' οἷς μηδὲν ἔχων ἀντιπράττειν, τοῦ πλήθους ὡς εἰκὸς δυναστεύσαντος, συναπαίρειν ἔγνω κάκεῖνος, καὶ κενὸν ἐντεῦθεν τὸ φρούριον καταλέλειπτο. Ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὁ μέγας δούξ προσίσχει τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ ἔδει πάντας αἰτίας τῶν πορισμῶν τὰς μὲν εὐρίσκεσθαι, τὰς δὲ πλάττεσθαι. Καὶ δὴ σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ οὗτος τῷ τροχῷ συλλάμβανεται· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες μίαν τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ λύσιν, εἰ προτείνοιεν ἄβρὸν τὸ χρυσίον. Καὶ τις δὲ ἄλλος, ὡς προενηργηκῶς δημόσια, ἀπηρεῖτο τὰ παρ' ἐκείνῳ κέρδη, ἐν χιλιάσι καὶ μάλιστα εἰσεπράττετο. Τῷ δὲ προσετιμᾶτο θανάτου διὰ τὴν τοῦ φρουρίου κατάλειψιν. Εἰ δ' ὠνεῖσθαι βούλοιτο τὴν ζωὴν, εἰς χρυσίου χιλιοστύας πέντε ἢ ἑκτισὶς ἴστατο, κατηντήκει δὲ καὶ ἡ ποινὴ μέχρι καὶ ἑκατοστύος μῆδος τῷ Μαχράμῃ. Ὡς γοῦν βραδεῖς ἐφαίνοντο, μὴ ἔχοντες, περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, αὐτῆς ὥρας προστάσσει ἐπ' ὅψει θατέρου कारατομεῖσθαι θάτερον τὸν Μαχράμην, καὶ ὁ μακελλικὸς φιτρός καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἔτοιμον εἰς ἀναίρεσιν· τὰς γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἰμάσι δεθείς, εἴτα δ' ἑκταθείς ἐπὶ τοῦ φिटροῦ καὶ καρτερῶς πιεσθείς, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς σπονδύλους τοῦ τραχήλου ἐκλυθῆναι τῆς φυσικῆς ἀρμογῆς, οὕτως ἀθλίως καὶ τὴν τομὴν δέχεται...” (extracts; *Version brève* pp. 112.36-113.14).

Bibl.: *PLP* 17544; TOMASCHEK, *Topographie von Kleinasien* 23; WITTEK, *Das Fürstentum Mentese* 21; VRYONIS, *Medieval Hellenism* 254; FAILLER, *Chronologie II* 60–61; HINTERBERGER, *Ο πεζός λόγος* 415–416.

233. Magentenos Leon or Ioannes (Μαγεντηνὸς Λέων)

D First half of 13th c.

B Metropolitan of Mytilene and commentator on the *Organon* of Aristotle. He is also attested as Ioannes Magentenos. His name appears in a fair number of manuscripts containing commentaries on Aristotle; it is also mentioned by Gennadios Scholarios (15th c.) and later scholars. However, nothing is known about his life and ecclesiastical career. His lifespan can only tentatively be established on the basis of the date of manuscripts containing his scholia. According to Ebbesen, who inquired into the problem of his identity and chronology, these are *Parisinus gr.* 1917 and *Vaticanus gr.* 244, both dating from 13th c. on paleographical grounds. The second manuscript contains an exegesis of Magentenos on Aristotle's *Tria Schemata*, a work also included anonymously in *Ambrosianus D.* 54 *sup.* (= 237). The scribe of this manuscript, Alexios Hamartolos Solymas, mentions that he finished his work in July 1272. This being a fairly solid *terminus ante quem*, Magentenos' *terminus post quem* is given by his use of scholia that postdate the mid-12th c. Since in the years between ca. 1256 and ca. 1267 the see of Mytilene was occupied by the metropolitan Gregorios, it is therefore plausible to place Magentenos' *floruit* in the first half of the 13th c.

In the *PLP* entry he is dated to the first half of the 14th c.

S BANDINI, *Catalogus* cols 2-3, 22, 238, 239-240, and *Supplementa Tria* 8*: “τοῦ μητροπολίτου Μιτυλήνης κυροῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Μαγεντηνοῦ· ἀνάγκη περὶ καθόλου διαλαβεῖν ...”; DEVREESSE, *Le fonds Coislin* 140-142, 149-150 and 152-153; also Aristoteles Graecus 224; HUNGER, *Katalog* 182-183; WARTELLE, *Inventaire* 192 (inventory); EBBESEN, *Commentators v.* 1 302-313; v. 2 xxxvi, 278-306; v. 3 70-81; BÜLOW-JACOBSEN and EBBESEN, *Vaticanus Urbinas* 45-54, 114-116; KOTZABASSI, *Kommentatoren* 48 (citing *Coislinianus gr.* 170 and *Vaticanus gr.* 1018, where Leo is designated as πανιερώτατος μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης).

Bibl.: *PLP* 16027; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μιτυλήνης* 196-197; HUNGER, *Literatur v.* 1, 38; EBBESEN, *Commentators v.* 1 302-303; KOTZABASSI, *Kommentatoren* 47-48.

234. Makarios (Μακάριος)

D 13th c.

B Hieromonachos and scribe of the monastery of Taxiarchai in the village of Mantamados.

His name appears in a Gospel book (ff. 288), dating from the 13th century, and copied in the aforementioned monastery.

S PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Μαυρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη. Constantinople 1884 165 (no. 21): “Μέμνησθε κάμου τοῦ ταπεινοῦ γραφέως Μακαρίου μοναχοῦ· ταπεινοῦ τε καὶ θύτου· ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς Μακάριος.”

Bibl.: PLP 16246; VOGEL and GARDTHAUSEN, Schreiber 272.

235. Malachias metropolitan of Methymna (Μαλαχίας)

D 1315-1347

B Metropolitan of Methymna and member of the patriarchal synod for the long period of 1315-1347; on a Friday of April 1331, he signed a decision closely related to his episcopal interests: the usurpation of sixteen monasteries of his diocese by Constantinopolitan monasteries. More precisely, he accused the monastery of Kaleus in Constantinople of having deliberately appropriated four other monasteries (those of Hagios Nikolaos, Kale Langas, Xerokastron, and Myrsine) that were under his jurisdiction. As proof, the monks of that monastery had presented a falsified imperial *chrysoboullon*, having used to that purpose a *sakellarios* and a *protekdikos*, both clerics of his see. All this was done without the knowledge of the emperor Andronikos III. Apart from that, Malachias reported that the monasteries of Hodegoi and Kyr Athanasios appropriated the monasteries of Kryokopou and of Hagia Theophano respectively. The monastery of Kyr Zosimas also usurped the monastery of Hodegetria inside the castle of Hagioi Theodoroi as well as those of the so-called Bourkos outside of it, namely the Hagioi Pente, Ioannes Theologos, and Christ the Savior. In its turn, the monastery of Kecharitomene appropriated those of Hagios Georgios (also called Kryon Neron) and the Klemation. After the synodic court heard Hilarion, abbot of Kaleus, it was decided that the monasteries should return to the metropolitan of Methymna. Likewise the monks of Kritzos (a monastery in W Asia Minor) should withdraw from three monasteries falling under the jurisdiction of Methymna. These monasteries were of Christ the Savior, Kerameon, and Hagioi Theodoroi.

Apart from this act concerning his see, Malachias also signed a number of patriarchal acts during the patriarchates of Esaías (1323-1332) and Ioannes XIV Kalekas (1334-1347). In those documents he is styled “τοῦ Μηθύμνης καὶ ὑπερτίμου Μαλαχίου.” Towards the end of his life, endorsing the views of Gregorios Palamas, he signed the synodal *Tomoi* of 1341 and 1346-1347. In August 1347 he signed the deposition of the metropolitan of Ephesos who was accused of having subscribed to the views of Barlaam and Gregorios Akindynos.

S a) A case he was directly involved in: PRK I 604-614, act no. 106 (= MM I 164-167): “... ὁ ἱερώτατος μητροπολίτης Μηθύμνης καὶ ὑπερτίμος, ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος καὶ συλλειτουργός, συνεδριάζων τῇ ἡμῶν μετριότητι προκαθημένη συνοδικῶς ἀναφορὰν ἐποίησατο πολλάκις μετὰ περιπαθείας, ὥς οἱ μοναχοὶ τῆς τοῦ Καλέως σεβασμίας μονῆς κατέσχον καὶ ἰδιοποιήσαντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν λαχοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίαν μοναστηρίων μοναστήρια τέσσαρα, ἡγουν τὸ τοῦ ἀγίου Νικολάου, τὸ τῆς Καλῆς Λαγκάδος, τὸ τοῦ Ξηροκάστρου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μυρσίνης, πορισάμενοι ἐκ ψευδοῦς ἀναφορᾶς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς σεπτὸν χρυσόβουλλον τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἀγίου μου αὐτοκράτορος, πρὸ τούτου δὲ μεταχειρισάμενοι καὶ δύο τῶν αὐτοῦ κληρικῶν, τὸν σακελλάριον δηλονότι καὶ τὸν πρωτέκδικον, καὶ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς ὑποσχέσεσι τισι καὶ λαβόντες παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐκδοτήριον γράμμα εἰς τὸ ῥηθὲν μοναστήριον τοῦ Μυρσίνης, μὴ συνειδότος τούτου μηδὲ συμπράξαντος εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἔκδοσιν. Ὡσαύτως ἀνήνεγκεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἱερώτατος ἀρχιερεὺς καί, ὥς οἱ μοναχοὶ τῆς τῶν Ὁδηγῶν σεβασμίας μονῆς καὶ οἱ τῆς τοῦ κύρ Ἀθανασίου κατέσχον καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ γνώμην καὶ ἔνδοσιν τούτου μοναστήρια ἕτερα, οἱ μὲν τῆς τῶν Ὁδηγῶν τὸ τοῦ Κρυοκόπου, οἱ δὲ τῆς τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀθανασίου τὸ τῆς ἀγίας Θεοφανῶς, ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ κύρ Ζωσιμάς τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ κάστρου τῶν ἀγίων Θεοδώρων μοναστήριον τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ μοναστήριον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον τὸ Βοῦρκος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀγίων Πέντε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐνορίᾳ τοῦ Κόρακος τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ· ἔτι γε μὴν κατέσχε καὶ ἡ μονὴ τῆς Κεχαριτωμένης μοναστήριον τὸ τοῦ ἀγίου Γεωργίου τὸ οὕτω πως ἐπιλεγόμενον τὸ Κρύον Νερόν καὶ τὸ Κλημάτιον κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον. Ἄ δι’ ἡ μοναστήρια καὶ ἀνακαλούμενος, ἅτε δι’ τρόπον παραλόγῳ καὶ ἀδίκῳ παρὰ τῶν εἰρημένων κατασχεθέντα, ἐδεήθη τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος, ... ὑπερεθέμεθα δὲ τοῦτο, ἕως ὁ ἱερώτατος μητροπολίτης Μηθύμνης ἀνενέγκῃ τὰ περὶ τούτου τῷ ἐκ Θεοῦ κρατίστῳ καὶ ἀγίῳ μου αὐτοκράτορι...” (extracts).

b) As a signatory: *PRK* I 132, 174, 418, 422, 430, 436, 450, 460, 510, 520, 536, 564, 570, 586, acts nos. 4, 10, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 79, 89, 91, 95, 100, 101, 103 respectively; *PRK* II 94, 116, 122, 172, 204, 268, 290, 300, 322, 382, acts nos. 109, 111, 112, 123, 127, 131, 134, 135, 136, 138, 144, 147 respectively; act 109 is also in MEYENDORFF, Tome synodal de 1347 224 v. 449 and 225 v. 473: “ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Μηθύμνης καὶ ὑπέρτιμος Μαλαχίας”, and DENNIS, John Calecas 55. Other acts where he appears as a signatory: Kantakouzenos, *Tomi Synodici tres* 692D, 699D, and 700A. Also in USPENSKIĬ, Τόμος καθαιρετικὸς 736 (no. 40): “ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Μηθύμνης καὶ ὑπέρτιμος Μαλαχίας.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 16491; MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης 201–202; MYSTAKIDES, Ἐπισκοπικοὶ κατάλογοι 203; DARROUZÈS, Regestes 2032 f, 2044, 2093, 2106 f., 2164, 2172 f., 2214 (text B), 2227, 2235, 2243, 2259, 2264, 2270, 2272, 2289; DÖLGER, Regesten 2771–2772; MERCATI, Notizie 207 n. 3; GRUMEL, Titulature 169–171 and 181; KODER, Aigaion 184 and 294.

236. Maleades (Μαλεάδης)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A person (though it could conceivably be a toponym) attested in the left margin of the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos; apart from an association with a mill, no other element of his identity can be determined.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “... τοῦ Κρεββατ(ᾶ), εἰς τὸ μικρ(ὸν) βάλτ(ον) (καὶ) εἰς τὸν Βαλαριδ(ην) (καὶ) μυλοτόπιον ὁ Μαλεάδης.”

237. Maria, daughter of Georgios Tzagaris (Μαρία)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Daughter of Georgios Tzagaris and Kale; sister of Eirene. She is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: “...Γεώργ(ιος) ὁ Τζαγκάρ(ις), ἔχ(ει) Καλ(ήν), θυγ(α)τ(έ)ρ(ας) Μαρ(ίαν) (καὶ) Εἰρή(νην), τέλος κο(κκία) δ’.”

238. Maria, wife of Andreas of Thomas (Μαρία)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Wife of Andreas son of Thomas. She is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155–156: “Ὁ Ἀνδρέ(ας) τοῦ Θωμᾶ, ἔχ(ει) Μαρ(ίαν), τέλος κο(κκία) β’.”

239. Maria, wife of Andreas [Paloumpas?] (Μαρία)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Wife of Andreas cousin of Thomas Paloumpas. She is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “Ἀνδρέ(ας) ὁ ἐξά(δελφος) [αὐτοῦ? sc. Thomas Paloumpas], ἔχ(ει) Μαρ(ίαν), υἱὸν Δημήτριον, βοῖδ(ιον) α’, πρόβ(α)τ(α) ις’, χοί(ρους) β’, τέλος κο(κκία) η’.”

240. Maria, wife of Choniates Nikephoros (Μαρία)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Wife of Nikephoros Choniates and mother of Georgios. She is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: “Νικηφόρος ὁ Χωνιάτ(ης), ἔχ(ει) Μαρ(ίαν), υἱ[ὸν] Γεώργιον, βοῖδ(ιον) α΄, πρόβ(α)τ(α) [.χοί]ρ[ους], τέλος κο(κκία) ἐννέα.”

241. Maria, wife of Ouranos Georgios (Μαρία)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Wife of Georgios Ouranos. She is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “Γεώργ(ιος) ὁ Οὐρανός, ἔχ(ει) Μα[ρ](ίαν), ὀνικὸν [α΄], χοίρους β΄, τέλος κο(κκία) β΄.”

242. Markianos metropolitan of Mytilene (Μαρκιανός)

D July, August, September 1347

B A signatory of the *Tomos* of the council held in Constantinople in 1347. This council confirmed the condemnation of Barlaam as endorsed in the Palamite council of 1341 and deposed the patriarch Ioannes XIV Kalekas. In August 1347 he signed the deposition of the metropolitan of Ephesos who was accused of having subscribed to the views of Barlaam and Gregorios Akindynos. In August and September of the same year he signed three other synodic acts; the first yielded to the metropolitan of Traïanoupolis the right to have his suffragan bishopric of Mosynopolis as residence; the second deposed those metropolitans who had opposed the election of the patriarch Isidoros I (1347-1350); the third restored the bishoprics of Small Russia to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Kiev. These three documents mention only the sees and, except for one instance, omit the names of metropolitans.

S a) MEYENDORFF, Tome synodal de 1347 225 v. 500: “ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης καὶ ὑπέρτιμος Μαρκιανός.”

b) USPENSKIJ, Τόμος καθαιρετικὸς 736 (no. 40): “ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης καὶ ὑπέρτιμος Μαρκιανός.”

c) As a signatory of two other synodal acts (without mention of his name): *MM* I 260 and 271 (= *PG* 152 col 1292A).

Bibl.: *PLP* 16996; *FEDALTO*, Hierarchia 216; *DARROUZÈS*, Regestes 2280, 2288-2289, 2291.

243. Matthaios the scribe (Ματθαῖος)

D 1327

B A scribe from Mytilene whose signature appears in a 14th-c. codex, now in the National Library in Athens (no. 2080). According to SERRYUS, Catalogue des manuscrits, 20 (no. 11), this signature must have been “une copie ou une restitution postérieure de la souscription illisible.”

As a result of a confusion, due to the fact that the manuscript formerly lay in the Gymnasion of Thessalonike, the name of this scribe has been inserted in two different entries in *PLP*.

S POLITES, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων 113-114 (*Atheniensis* gr. 2080, f. 264^v): “ἐτελειώθη σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ Ματθαίου τοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν Μιτυλήνην.” Also in VOGEL and GARDTHAUSEN, Schreiber 296 (no. 11).

Bibl.: *PLP* 17356 and 94113.

244. Maximos the monk (Μάξιμος)

D 1254-1264 and before 1324

B Monk and *exarchos* of the patriarch Arsenios Autorianos (1255-1260 and 1261-1264) in Mytilene between 1254 and 1264. In patriarchal act no. 79, dating from 19 September, 1324, he is cited as a trustworthy and elderly witness (along with the priests Thomopoulos and Lazaros) in favor of the rights of the metropolitan see of Mytilene over the church of St Michael Akronesiotes. More precisely, before the patriarchal synod he asserted that a certain Bestarches, then dead, forged the letters remaining the church in question from the metropolitan of Mytilene and placing it instead under the jurisdiction of the patriarch.

Apparently Maximos exerted the function of the patriarchal *exarchos* for a very long time; he must have become a monk at a later stage of his life.

S *PRK* I 464 and 464, act no. 79 (= *MM* I 114 and 117): “... ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ τὰ πατριαρχικὰ δίκαια διέπων ἐκείσε πρὸ χρόνων μοναχὸς Μάξιμος ἐνταῦθα παρὼν καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς μετ’ ἀσφαλείας τῆς προσηκούσης ἀνωμολόγησεν, ὡς ἐφορῶντος θεοῦ καὶ διεβεβαιώσατο.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 16791; DARROUZÈS, *Regestes*, 2117-2118.

245. Michael metropolitan of Methymna (Μιχαήλ)

D July 1250

B Participant in two local councils that were held at Nikaia during the patriarchate of Manuel II (1243-1254). The first dealt with questions of Canon Law, presented by the metropolitan Romanos of Dyrrachion and posed by the bishop of Bella in Epeiros; the second was held in the Church of Theotokos Gorgoepekoos in Sosandra and dealt with the transferral of bishops.

S *MANSI* XXII 1137E (= *PG* 119 col 807D); and 1141C (= *PG* 119 col 811C): “... τοῦ Μηθύμνης Μιχαήλ ...”

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Hierarchia* 214; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης* 201; LAURENT, *Regestes* 1315–1316.

246. Michael VIII Palaiologos (Μιχαήλ Παλαιολόγος)

D 1261 (before 26 July)

B Byzantine emperor (1259-1282); in the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea* it is recorded that, while on Lesbos, he sent the *Kaisar* Strategopoulos and his troops to Gallipoli; the latter marched to Constantinople and from there conquered it overnight.

It is nowhere else documented that Michael VIII ever set foot on Lesbos. Georgios Akropolites specifies that he heard the good news of the capture of the Byzantine capital while camping at Meteorion (a locality to the north of Nymphaion); Pachymeres places him in Nymphaion itself. Finally, in the highly rhetorical *Enkomion* addressed to him, Manuel Holobolos hints at his presence in the whereabouts of the river Skamandros.

It can only be surmised that the redactor of the *Chronicle of Morea* (or his source) confused Meteorion with Metelin.

S *Libro de los fechos* 84, ed. MOREL-FATIO p. 21: “...et peu d’années après qu’il fut seigneur de son empire, l’empereur des Grecs, qui était en Mitylène, envoya un de ses barons, nommé César Stratégopoulos, avec des gens d’armes, lequel s’en fut à Gallipoli qui appartenait aux Grecs, et de Gallipoli, par terre, il vint à Constantinople et de nuit il prit la ville...” (French tr.).

Related sources: Akropolites, *History* 86-87, ed. HEISENBERG pp. 183-185; Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις Χρονική*, ed. SATHAS pp. 552-553; Ephraim, *Chronicle*, ed. LAMPSIDES pp. 336-337, v. 9557-9567; Pachymeres, *History* 1.29, ed. FAILLER p. 205; see also M. TREU, ed., *Manueli Holoboli Orationes*

(Programm der königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam). Potsdam 1906 68-71; and SIDERIDES, Μανουήλ Ὀλοβώλου Ἐγκώμιον 185.

Bibl.: *PLP* 21528; GEANAKOPOLOS, Michael Paleologos 119-122; NICOL, Last Centuries 39-42.

247. Moschopoulos Nikephoros (Μοσχόπουλος Νικηφόρος)

D Before 1305

B Metropolitan of Crete (1283-1328) and uncle of the better-known writer Manuel Moschopoulos; after a synodal decree, he was also given the administration (“κατ’ ἐπίδοσιν”) of the metropolitan see of Methymna, which, however, in 1305 was yielded to Kyrillos, metropolitan of Sardis. An inscription dated 1312 informs us that, later on, he administered the church of Lakedaimon (Sparta). A bibliophile, he combined his ecclesiastical duties with the ordering and study of books.

S PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Νικηφόρος Μοσχόπουλος 218-219 (text as in *Kyrillos metropolitan of Sardis*).

Bibl.: *PLP* 19376; LAURENT, Regestes 1627; PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Νικηφόρος Μοσχόπουλος 215-223; MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης 201; LAURENT, Synode des Blachernes 145-146 and n. 13; IDEM, Synodicon de Sybrita 404; MANOUSSAKAS, Νικηφόρου Μοσχοπούλου ἐπιγράμματα 232-246; JENKINS and MANGO, Synodikon 241-242; MARKESINIS, Nicéphore Moschopoulos.

248. Nikephoros metropolitan of Methymna (Νικηφόρος)

D 13th c. (before November 1261).

B His name is known from the signed ratification of a *sigillion* that referred to the concession by Pothos Haplesphares, metropolitan of Mytilene, of the monastery of Kato Ptomaia (or -oi) to Manuel Xeros and later his son Leon Komnenos.

Moutzoures dates him to 1237-1250, but Nikephoros’ tenure can be determined only approximately.

S a) *PRK* I 502, act no. 87 (= *MM* I 126): “Τὰ δὲ ἴσα τούτων ὑπογεγραμμένα δι’ ἀσφάλειαν διὰ τοῦ μητροπολίτου Μηθύμνης κῦρ Νικηφόρου, ᾧ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἔνεκεν τῆς ἀνωτέρω δηλωθείσης αἰτίας, ἵνα μὴ σαθρωθέντα ἀφανισθῶσιν, κατεστρώθησαν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς κωδικίοις.”

b) *PRK* I 490, act no. 83 (= *MM* I 123 wrongly print Μιτυλήνης): “οὕτω μὲν ἀνεφάνη μητροπολιανὴν εἶναι τὴν μονὴν τῶν Κάτω Πτωμαίων ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαιώματος τούτου, παρὰ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Μηθύμνης πεπιστωμένου.”

Bibl.: FEDALTO, Hierarchia 214; MOUTZOURES, Κατάλογος Μηθύμνης 201.

249. Niketas, son of Keladites Ioannes (Νικήτας)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Son of Ioannes Keladites and Theodora; brother of Kale. He is mentioned in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: “Ἰωάν[ης] ὁ Κελαδίτ[ης], ἔχ[ει] Θεο[δῶ]ρ[αν], υἱὸν Νικήτ[αν], θυγ[α]τ[έ]ρ[α] Καλ[ή]ν, βοῖδ[ιον] α΄, (χ)οίρους ζ΄, τέλος κο[κκί]ον ἔν.”

250. Ottone Tommaso

D Between 17 October and 3 November 1351

B A Genoese *notarios*; he embarked on the galley of Paganino Doria serving as a scribe in his naval campaign against the Venetians who besieged Pera. From 14 June, 1351 to 13 August, 1352, he kept the

account book of the aforementioned galley. It is in this book that he referred to the temporary presence of Doria at Sigrion and his seizing of four local hostages.

S BALARD, Paganino Doria 441 and n. 62: Archivio dello Stato di Genova, Antico Comune, *Officium Guerre Introitus et exitus* no. 215, f. 34.

Bibl.: as in *Doria Paganino*.

251. Ouranos Georgios (Οὐρανὸς Γεώργιος)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. He was the husband of Maria and, apart from an ass, owned two pigs, all valued at two *kokkia*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “Γεώργ(ιος) ὁ Οὐρανός, ἔχ(ει) Μα[ρ](ίαν), ὀνικὸν [α’], χοίρους β’, τέλος κο(κκία) β’.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 21168.

252. Pachymeres Georgios (Παχυμέρης Γεώργιος)

D May 1265

B Byzantine historian and miscellaneous writer (1242-ca. 1310); born and raised in Nikaia, he came to Constantinople in 1261 at the age of 19, after the city was recaptured by Michael VIII Palaiologos. He followed an ecclesiastical career, but it is hard to determine which offices he held at which period. He is known mostly as the author of a historiographical work that covers the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II Palaiologos (up to 1308). In one of the few autobiographical references he inserts in this work he says that, following a mandate of Michael VIII, he visited Gregorios, metropolitan of Mytilene, in order to sound out the latter’s intention regarding the deposition of Arsenios II Autoreianos. As a friend of Arsenios, Gregorios pretended to be ill. The mission of Pachymeres was undertaken in the capacity of *notarios*, an office that may either have been granted to him *ad hoc* or which he occupied long since. It is equally unclear whether Gregorios was visited on Lesbos or elsewhere. At any rate, Pachymeres’ references to Mytilene do not entail any particular familiarity with the island.

Failler dates this mission to May 1265.

S Pachymeres, *History* 4.6, ed. FAILLER pp. 347-349: “... ὁ γὰρ Μιτυλήνης Γρηγόριος, τὰ πολλὰ τῷ πατριάρχῃ προσέχων, ἐπεὶ τὴν δίκην ἀπηρτημένην ἑώρα οἱ, νόσον σκηψάμενος ἀπῆν, ᾧ δὲ καὶ μετ’ ἐμβριθείας ὁ κρατῶν, ἐμὲ ὡς νοτάριον ἀποστέλλων, ἢ ἀπαντᾶν ἢ διδόναι τὴν γνώμην ἐκέλευε, ...” (*Version brève* p. 107.23-26).

Bibl.: *PLP* 22186; SYKOUTRIS, Περὶ τὸ σχίσμα 300, n. 1 (who, however, misunderstood the involvement of Pachymeres in the whole episode); FAILLER, *Chronologie* I 157-158; LAMPAKIS, Γεώργιος Παχυμέρης 24-25.

253. Palaiologina Maria (Παλαιολογίνα Μαρία) or Eirene (Εἰρήνη)

D 17 July, 1355

B Daughter of Andronikos III Palaiologos, sister of Ioannes V Palaiologos, and wife of Francesco I Gattilusio. Her marriage was part of the agreement made between her brother and the Genoese lord, after the latter gave his support to the former in expelling the usurper Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos from the throne in Constantinople. As a dowry, Francesco was given the governorship of Lesbos. After the marriage was celebrated in Constantinople, the couple settled in Mytilene and produced at least three sons. Contrary to the account of Spanish traveller Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, the *Short Chronicle* of Mytilene does not specifically include her among the victims of an earthquake that occurred on 26 August, 1384, and killed her husband and two of her sons (Andronikos and Domenico). The third son Jacopo, who succeeded his father under the name of Francesco II, was the only to have survived.

Both the name of Gattilusio's wife and her fate before settling on Lesbos are unclear. First of all, no source (Byzantine or Western) records the first name of Gattilusio's wife. According to Kantakouzenos, *History* 1.15 and 2.34, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1, pp. 394 and 509, Andronikos III had a daughter named Maria, who, however, was married to Michael Asen, son of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander. She must have been born in ca. 1330. Gregoras, *History* 37.51, ed. SCHOPEN v. 3, pp. 557.19-558.1, reports her marriage to the Bulgarian prince, but gives her the name Eirene. In order to resolve this discrepancy it has been suggested (by VAN DIETEN in: Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte* v. 2.2 pp. 389 and 431) that by her marriage the formerly named Eirene received the name of Maria. Nonetheless, it is then hard to explain why Kantakouzenos cites the name of Maria while totally "ignoring" her marriage to Francesco. Eirene and Maria are entered in the *PLP* (5973, 91851 and 16888) as two different daughters of Andronikos III. In a manuscript notice dated to 1377 it is reported that Maria, the sister of the emperor, died on the 11th day of a month which is not specified. Arguing against previous literature (BARKER, Manuel II, 458-461), Schreiner considered this Maria to be the sister of Andronikos IV.

S a-e, j, as in *Gattilusio Francesco*.

Related sources: a) Kantakouzenos, *History* 1.15 and 2.34, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1, pp. 394 and 509; b) Gregoras, *History* 37.51, ed. SCHOPEN v. 3 pp. 557.19-558.1; c) SCHREINER, *Kleinchroniken*, I 9/35 (p. 96).

Bibl.: *PLP* 16888, 5973 and 91851; PAPADOPOULOS, *Genealogie* no. 78 (pp. 49-50); *EPLBHC* VI 254-255; BARKER, Manuel II Paleologus 458-462; SCHREINER, *Kleinchroniken*, II 285-286, 318-319; Kantakouzenos, *Geschichte* 192 (n. 105).

254. Palaiologos Ioannes (Παλαιολόγος Ἰωάννης)

D Before 1272

B Son of Andronikos Palaiologos and Theodora Palaiologina; younger brother of Michael VIII Palaiologos, he was granted the title of *despotes* after the battle of Pelagonia in 1259. According to Pachymeres, he was given as a *pronoia* many large estates on Lesbos and Rhodes. However, by 1272 he lost these privileges because he was much suspected by Michael VIII as coveting his throne.

As Ostrogorsky pointed out, by virtue of his *pronoia* Ioannes Palaiologos did not own these lands, but was only entitled to their revenues. Unlike Rhodes, it is nowhere documented that he ever set foot on Lesbos.

S Pachymeres, *History* 4.29, ed. FAILLER p. 417.5: "καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀφῆρητο· νῆσοι γὰρ πᾶσαι τὸ πρότερον, Μιτυλήνη λέγω καὶ Ῥόδος, καὶ κατὰ γῆν πλείστα τε καὶ μέγιστα οἱ εἰς αὐτάρκη πρόνοιαν ἦσαν..." (reference to Rhodes and Mytilene is missing in the related passage in *Version brève* p. 129.17-19).

Bibl.: *PLP* 21487; PAPADOPOULOS, *Genealogie* no. 2 (pp. 4-5); OSTROGORSKY, *Féodalité* 100; GUILLAND, *Recherches*, v. 2 9; LAURENT, Jean *Paléologue* 160-162; MAGDALINO, John *Palaiologos* 143-149; NICOL, *Last Centuries* 90-91.

255. Paloumpas Thomas (Παλουμπας Θωμᾶς)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. He was the cousin of Andreas and his property was worth four *kokkia*.

In the document his last name is printed with no accent. On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: "[Θ]ωμ(ᾶς) ὁ Παλουμπας, τέλος κο(κκία) δ'."

Bibl.: *PLP* 21576.

256. Panagiotes (Παναγιώτης)

D September 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. He was the husband of Anna and owned four goats valued at two *kokkia*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “[Ο] Παναγιώτ(ης), ἔχ(ει) ᾽Ανναν, αἰγίδια δ΄, τέλος κο(κκία) β΄.”

257. Paradeissas Makarios (Παραδειςσᾶς Μακάριος)

D February, before 1355, probably 1345/46 (?).

B A person attested only as a correspondent of Makarios Chrysokephalos, metropolitan of Philadelpheia (1336-1382). In the letter that Paradeissas is known to have addressed to Makarios he tells about his stay in Mytilene that occurred in a February and after stopping at Phokaia. While visiting the harbor of the town and looking for a ship to Constantinople, he met the *logothetes*, a dignitary with whom he was apparently well-acquainted and who had come to Mytilene from the capital. After greeting each other and shaking their right hands, the *logothetes* shared with Paradeissas the good news regarding the emperors in Constantinople and how they get along with their enemies. He further suggested Paradeissas that he write a letter to their common father and master, the metropolitan of Philadelpheia. Citing his lack of education (*ἀμαθίαν*), the author first refused to do so, but, as the winds continued to be unfavorable for many days, he finally decided to please his friend and write to their master. In what follows in the letter, Paradeissas, *inter alia*, thanks his addressee for being so generous with him during the past year, for Makarios Chrysokephalos took him from that place (*ἐντεῦθεν*) to the capital and found him good lodgings.

Since mention is made in the letter of the holy emperors (*τοῖς θείοις ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορσι*), it must date from prior to 1355. Furthermore, occurring as it does in a period of theological and political turmoil, the “good news” about the emperors in the capital suggests a date in the mid-1340s.

S WALTHER, Briefe an Makarios 218: “Μῆν μὲν ἔτι παρήμειβε Ληναιῶν - καὶ γὰρ μικρῷ γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐς Μιτυλήνην ἐκ Φωκαίας ἀνήχθη - , ἐπεὶ κατήειν ἐς νεώριον, εἴ τι πλοῖον εἴη πειυσόμενος εὐθὺ πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης ἀπαίρον, κἀνταῦθ᾽ αὖτε εἰστήκειν περισκοπῶν, τὸν τιμιώτατον ὁρῶ καὶ βέλτιστον ἔμοι λογοθέτην περινοστοῦντα.”

Bibl.: PLP 21842; WALTHER, Briefe an Makarios 215-218.

258. Philanthropenos Alexios Doukas (Φιλανθρωπηνός, Ἀλέξιος Δούκας)

D 1336 (according to Gregoras), 1335 (according to Kantakouzenos), or 1324-1335?

B The second son of Michael Tarchaneiotos and Maria Philanthropene; born ca. 1270, he preferred to be called after his maternal grandfather and it is with the name Philanthropenos that he is mostly referred to in the sources. Skilled in military matters, he was entrusted with special missions since a young age and honored with the dignity of *pinkernes*. However, in 1296, following his plotting against Andronikos II, he was blinded. The loss of his sight did not stop him from undertaking various expeditions after the fall of Andronikos II (1328). In 1335, he played a crucial role in Andronikos III's attempt to take back the part of Lesbos that was conquered by the Genoese Domenico Cattaneo. After the Byzantine emperor embarked from Kallone for Phokaia, he was ordered to besiege Mytilene with foot and horse. Though supported by the infantry and the navy of the Turkish emir Saru-khan, the five-month siege of both Phokaia and Mytilene had no outcome. Following a mutual agreement of Andronikos III and Cattaneo both towns were finally restored to Byzantine control. Philanthropenos was then left as a governor of Lesbos and must have remained in charge of the whole area for some time. Gregoras states that Andronikos III regretted not having granted to him the command of Lesbos as well as of the other Byzantine islands of the Aegean earlier (*History* 11.2, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1, p. 534.6-14), for this would have prevented the enslavement of Mytilene and a series of defeats of the Byzantines at sea. As governor of the

island Philanthropenos secretly expelled from the town of Mytilene, in groups of two or three, the five hundred mercenaries who were guardians of the Latins and sent them all back to their places of origin rich (βριθούσαις δεξιαίς). So he emptied the town of foreigners and made it again subject to the Byzantines.

Highly encomiastic of Philanthropenos is the letter addressed to him by Gregoras. He is praised for the skill that he demonstrated against the naval force of the Persians (i.e., the Turks) and for saving the island that now can be called “his,” for the savior of a town can be regarded as its founder. Likewise he saved the island of Lesbos after chasing away the Latins.

Lemerle wonders whether the document concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos might stem from a census carried out during that time (Actes de Lavra II 155). Also, the *Destan* of Umur Pasha mentions the island’s governor (*tekfur*) who received the emir after the latter was saved from a shipwreck by a ship sent from Lesbos. Given the legendary content of this text, the identification with Philanthropenos is only tentative.

Based on the concluding part of Gregoras’ excursus, Kourouses (Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς, 212-214) held that the operation of Philanthropenos on Lesbos was preceded by an earlier one. The text, which no doubt affords this interpretation, is a personal commentary of Gregoras, who criticizes Andronikos III for not having earlier put Philanthropenos to action. On the assumption that the latter was a governor of Lesbos prior to the end of 1334, i.e., when Cattaneo conquered the island, Kourouses assigned to him the expedition of a ship sailing from Mytilene in order to meet at the entrance of the gulf of Smyrne the Turkish fleet campaigning against Chios. This expedition took place in the winter of 1329-1330, just before Chios, recently liberated by Leon Kalothetos from the rule of the Genoese Martino Zaccaria, was taken over by the emirs Umur and Hizir.

The “heroic” character of the reconquest of Mytilene in which Philanthropenos was involved, inspired the anonymous composer(s) of the so-called *Song of Belisarios* which has survived in five versions, all in more or less demotic Greek. Beck convincingly suggested that the figure of Belisarios and the misfortunes that befell him in the song reflect the personality of Alexios Philanthropenos.

S a) Kantakouzenos, *History* 2.29, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 479-480: “... βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐκεῖ πιγκέρνην τὸν Φιλανθρωπηνὸν καταλιπὼν ἅμα στρατιᾷ πεζῇ καὶ ἱππικῇ τὴν Μιτυλήνην πολιορκεῖν...”; German tr.: Kantakuzenos, *Geschichte* v. 2 p. 111.

b) Gregoras, *History* 11.2, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 534-535: “...ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων συνήκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, πολὺ τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρειν τὴν τοῦ θείου αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν Ἀλεξίου Φιλανθρωπηνοῦ, οὗ δὴ πολλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ἐμνήσθημεν ἔμπροσθεν, μετὰ μελόν ἔσχεν ἤδη καθ’ ἑαυτὸν οὐ μάλ᾽ ἀμικρόν, ὅτι μὴ κἀπὶ μάλ᾽ αὐτῷ πλείονα συγκεχώρηκε χρόνον αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν Λεσβίων διοίκησιν, καὶ ὅσαι κατὰ τὸν Αἰγαῖον νῆσοι Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοοι. Οὐτε γὰρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν Μιτυλήνην ἠνδραποδίετο, οὐτ’ ἐς τοσοῦτο ναυαγίων τὰ θαλάττης ἤλαυνε Ῥωμαίοις πράγματα. Ὅθεν αὐτὸν τὴν ταχίστην ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων αὐθις ἐπιτροπὴν ἀφικέσθαι προσετέταχται. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς τὴν προτέραν εὐθὺς τὰ πράγματα ἤγαγεν οὗτος κατάστασιν καὶ τοὺς μεταξὺ γενομένους διέλυσε κλύδωνας, μόλις μὲν, καὶ ξὺν πολλῇ περινοίᾳ, διὰ τὴν μεταξὺ γενομένην καινοτομίαν Μιτυλήνης καὶ τῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ πραγμάτων· ἐπανήγαγε δ’ οὖν. Τοὺς γὰρ ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τῇ πόλει μισθοφόρους πεντακοσίους καὶ φύλακας τῶν Λατίνων λάθρᾳ σύνδυο καὶ σύντρεις μεταπεμπόμενος καὶ βριθούσαις δεξιαῖς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας προπέμπων ἔλαθεν οὕτω φρονίμως κενώσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πεποικῶς ὑποχείριον.”; German tr.: Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte* v. 2.2 pp. 279-280.

c) Gregoras, *Letter* 107 (“Τῷ θείῳ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ Φιλανθρωπηνῷ”), ed. LEONE v. 2 pp. 278-281: “...ἐπλεῖ γὰρ κἀκεῖθεν ἐς ἡμᾶς τὰ τῆς σῆς φρονήσεως ἀναίμωτα τρόπαια, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως τῶν Περσῶν ἐνεδείξω, ὕβρει πορευομένης παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τῆς νήσου τῆς σῆς. Σὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ ταύτην ἤδη τὴν νήσον καλῶ διότι φθαρῆναι κινδυνεύουσιν ἄρδην, ἢ σὴ παραδόξως διέσωσε σύνεσις. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ πόλιν μὴ οὖσαν ἐγείρας οἰκιστὴς καλεῖται καὶ κτίστης, οὕτω καὶ ὁ φθαρῆναι κινδυνεύουσιν ἐμφανῶς διασσωκῶς, δίκαιος ἂν εἴῃ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καλεῖσθαι ὀνόμασιν, εἰ μὴ πάνυ τοι μεῖζοσι καὶ τιμωτέροις ... οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Μιτυλήνην πρότερον σέσωκας τὴν νήσον, ἐξελάσας τὴν ἄμαχον τῶν Λατίνων ἰσχύν· οὕτω, πρὸ ταύτης, Φιλαδελφείαν, πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολὺάνδρον ... ” (extracts).

Related sources: a) *Déstan d’Umur Pacha* v. 275-282 (p. 57): text as in *Umur Pasha I*. b) BAKKER and VAN GEMERT, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισσαρίου, 178-179*: aa) version χ, v. 264-266: “ἦλθαν καὶ ἐπεσώσασιν νήσον τῆς Μιτυλήνης, // ἔραξαν, ἐνεπαύθησαν, ἐχάρησαν μεγάλως // καὶ πάλιν ἐσηκώθησαν καὶ ὑπᾶσιν τὴν ὁδόν

τους.”; bb) version N², v. 284-286: “ἦλθον καὶ ἐπεσώσασιν εἰς νῆσον Μυτιλήνης, // ἔραξαν, ἐνεπαύθησαν, ἐχάρησαν μεγάλως // καὶ πάλιν ἐσηκώθησαν, ὑπάγουν τὴν ὁδὸν τους.”; cc) version Λ, v. 388-391: “καὶ τὴν ὑγρὰν ἐτρέχασιν μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης, // εἰς ἓν νησὶν ἐφθάσασιν ὃ λέγουν Μυτιλήνη, // ἔραξαν, ἐνεπαύθησαν ἄχρι τρεῖς τε ἡμέρας // καὶ πάλιν ἐσηκώθησαν καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπιάσαν.”; dd) version ρ, v. 438-441: “ἡ πρώτη γῆ ὅπου εἶδασιν ἦτον ἡ Μυτιλήνη // ἐκεῖ λοιπὸν ἐπέρασαν εἰς τὸ νησὶν παγκάλως, // ἔραξαν, ἐνεπαύθησαν, ἐχάρησαν μεγάλως. // Κάκειθεν ἐσηκώθησαν καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ποιοῦσιν.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 29752; *ODB* 1649; BECK, Belisar 50-51; IDEM, *Volksliteratur* 150-153; LEMERLE, Aydin 109; AHRWEILER, Byzance et la mer, 382-383; POLEMIS, Doukai 169 (no. 171); SCHMALZBAUER, *Prosopographie* 204-205; CONSTANTINIDES, Προσωπογραφικὰ τῆς οἰκογένειας Φιλανθρωπηῶν; SCHREINER, *Geschichte Philadelphieas* 376-388; KOUROUSES, Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς 206-222; LAIOU, Alexios Philanthropenos 89-99; MAKSIMOVIĆ, Byzantine Provincial Administration 85-86; Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte v. 2.2 373-376; POLEMIS, Νικόλαος Λαμπηνός 15; LEONTIADES, Tarchaneiotai 30, 77-78; KODER, Aigaion 210; GUILLAND, *Recherches* v. 1 242-250; and *ODB* 1679 (on the office of *pinkernes*).

259. Philanthropenos Michael (Φιλανθρωπηνὸς Μιχαήλ)

D 1325

B A *strategos* and son of the *pinkernes* Alexios Philanthropenos and Theodora Philanthropene. He was born in 1296. His presence on Lesbos is documented in a *Letter* (15) of Manuel Gabalas (later known as Matthaios, metropolitan of Ephesos). Although the addressee is referred to simply as Philanthropenos, his identification with the son Michael, addressee also of Michael Gabras (*Letters* 380 and 404), seems certain. In the letter in question, Gabalas, the teacher of Michael in Constantinople, reprimands his pupil for not having corresponded with him for a whole year. That Michael followed his father in his campaign to Lesbos and Philadelphiea is no excuse since war is not incompatible with literary activity. Good examples certifying this were both Themistokles and Michael's father Alexios.

The letter was first edited by Schreiner and included in his survey of the history of Philadelphiea in the 13th century.

S Manuel Gabalas, *Letter* 15 “τῷ Φιλανθρωπηνῷ”, ed. REINSCH p. 103: “...ἄρά σοι τῶν Ἑσπερίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔφα μετακεχωρηκότι καὶ συστρατηγεῖν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν ἡναγκασμένῳ λόγων παιδείαι καὶ Μουσῶν ἀγῶνες καὶ τὸ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν δὲ κράτος δευτέρα παρὰ πολὺ νομίζεται; ἢ πόθεν οὕτω μακρὰν ἄγεις λήθην, ὧν τε φιλεῖν ἡμᾶς κατάχρεως ὧν ἀνομίλητος ἐς τοσοῦτον διατελεῖς τοῖς γράμμασιν ἔτος τοῦθ' ὅλον ἐς Λέσβον, ἐς Φιλαδέλφου στρατηγικῶς ταττόμενος, καὶ ὧν μείζονος κηδεμονίας τεκμήρι' ἅττα σοι παρεχόμενοι μεγάλων πραγμάτων ὑπηγορεύκαμεν ὑποθήκας; Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖν' ἔφαμεν, ἂ καὶ πατὴρ αὐτὸς καὶ μήτηρ καὶ ὁ τουτωνὶ μείζων εἰς κηδεμονίαν σοι καταστάς.” Previous ed. SCHREINER, *Geschichte Philadelphieas*, 423-425.

Bibl.: *PLP* 29775; TREU, Matthaios Metropolit 45-46; SCHREINER, *Geschichte Philadelphieas* 397-401, 422-423; KOUROUSES, Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς 206-222; FATOUROS, Michael Gabras I, 57 (no. 84); II, 601-603 and 629-630.

260. Philippus metropolitan of Mytilene (Philippus)

D From 11 July, 1345 to 1353

B Titular Latin metropolitan of Mytilene; as a legate of Humbert of Viennois he asked the Venetian Senate whether Humbert's army could be dispatched to the East by way of Hungary. Later on, he appeared at the papal Curia in Avignon to express Humbert's wish to be equipped with four galleys instead of two plus 100 horsemen. On 11 December 1345, Henri de Villars, lord lieutenant of Dauphiné, authorized that Philippus be reimbursed for the expenses incurred during his missions to both Venice and Avignon. He also received papal letters urging him to propound the word of the Cross.

S a) Clement VI (1342-1352), a. IV: *Register Vaticanum* 171, f. 18^{r-v}, ep. 6.

b) RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Diplomatari*, no. 188 (p. 243): “...veniens postmodum pro parte tua venerabilis frater noster archiepiscopus Metillinem. Nobis dixit magis tibi placere teque utilius arbitrari quod non illos centum homines armatos sed quatuor galeas teneremus in eisdem partibus sicut prius ...”

c) E. DEPREZ and G. MOLLAT (ed.), Clément VI (1342-1352). *Lettres closes, patentes et curiales concernant les pays autres que la France publiées ou analysées d'après les registres du Vatican*. Paris

1960, no. 735 (p. 92): “Venerabili fratri Philippo archiepiscopo Metellinensi, salutem etc. ...” (Avignon, 28 July, 1345).

Bibl.: FEDALTO, *Chiesa latina* v. 2 160; GAY, Clément VI 68; SETTON, *Papacy* 200-201, 205; LOENERTZ, *Byzantina* 352; KROUSOULOUDIS, Σχέσεις τοῦ λατίνου 65-66.

261. di Portu Rinaldo

D 20 September, 1334

B Civilian of Rhodes (burgensis Rodi), nominated procurator by Anthony Gainfia di Finali in a notarial act signed in Mytilene.

S BALLETO, Genova no. 11 (p. 173): “actum in portu Meteli<ni>, anno dominice Nativitatis MCCCXXXIII, indictione prima, die XX septembris, ora vespas.”

262. de Rollando, Ianotus

D 20 September, 133.

B Together with Iohannes de Begali, he testified to the act whereby Anthonius Gainfia de Finali proclaimed Rinaldo de Portu, civilian of Rhodes, procurator.

S BALLETO, Genova, no. 11 (p. 173): “actum in portu Meteli<ni>, anno dominice Nativitatis MCCCXXXIII, indictione prima, die XX septembris, ora vespas. Testes Ianotus de Rollando, Iohannes de Begali.”

263. Sabaros Sabastos

D 1258

B A citizen of Mytilene who, along with Angifalconarius, priest in the church of St Thomas the apostle on Chios, and three other Greeks hailing from the same island, testified in a deposition before the judge Iohannes de Pavone. According to their testimony, given at the castle of Bari (wherein they were detained) on 22 September, 1259 (= 1258, after the Byzantine chronology followed in Bari), the relics of St Thomas deposited in the aforementioned church were removed by some citizens from Ortona (a town on the coast of the Adriatic sea) who were campaigning on three galleys of the fleet of Manfred, king of Sicily (1258-1266).

The episode of the translation of St Thomas' relics to Ortona is narrated in a Latin text first published by G.B. de Lectis in 1607 and then reproduced by B. Capasso in his collection of documents relating to the kingdom of Sicily for the years 1250-1266. There is, however, another version concerning the provenance of St Thomas' relics and their translation to Ortona, that transmitted in the text *BHL* 8149, published in UGHELLI, *Italia sacra* 774. At the behest of Manfred I, the relics were stolen from the town of Edessa in Makedonia by some sailors and were brought to Ortona on 6 September, 1258.

The name Sabaros betrays a “Latin” origin and it could have been such in an age when Lesbos was populated by many foreigners. Conversely, the name “Sabastos” looks like a corrupted form of the Byzantine office of *sebastos*. In the 13th-14th c. *sebastoi* were commanders of ethnic units, but this can hardly be the case here.

S DE LECTIS, *Translatione e miracoli di S. Tomae* 17 (cited from Capasso, *Historia diplomatica Regni Siciliae*, 146 n. 1): “A(nno) 1259 regnante d (omino) n(ostre) Manfr(edo) d(ei) g(ratia) illudtrissimo rege Sic(iliae) a(nno) primo regni ejus die 22 m(ensis) sept(embri) II ind(ictione). Ante Johannem de Pavone de Baro judicem Sabarus Sabastos Metelini in Romania, et Angifalconarius dudum electus abbas ecclesiae S. Thomae ap. in Scio, atque Michael Cursuntilis, qui dixit se jus-patronatum habere in ipsa ecclesia et Stephanus clericus et Constantinus servus dictae ecclesiae declarant in castello Bari, ubi detinebantur, in praesentia etiam Gulielmi judicis et Syndici civitatis Ortonae, quod homines civitatis Ortonae, qui cum tribus galeis in stolio d. n. Manfredi excellentiss(imi) regis Sic(iliae) fideliter et

laudabiliter se gesserant, de praedicta ecclesia S. Thomae ap(ostoli) in insula Scio corpus praedicti S. Thomae abstulerant ... ”

Bibl.: BERG, Manfred of Sicily, 264; AHRWEILER, Sébaste; *ODB* 1862-1863 (on the office of *sebastos*).

264. Sabas the Younger, saint (Σάβας)

D 1308-1309

B A saint; born in Thessalonike to noble parents, his name was Stephanos Tziskos (1283-1349). At the age of 18 he secretly left home for Mt Athos where he was tonsured a monk and named Sabas. In the seventh year after taking monastic vows, the Holy Mountain was threatened by Catalan raids. Tempted to set out for Thessalonike, he was prevented by the looting of its hinterland and came to settle in the monastery of Vatopedi. Urged by an inner voice to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he embarked on a ship that sailed from Lemnos to Lesbos and then to Chios. His voyage continued with a stop in Ephesos to venerate St John's relics, Patmos, the other islands that lie in between, and finally Cyprus.

His long *vita*, preserved in cod. 89 of the monastery of Vatopedi, was written by Philotheos Kokkinos, patriarch of Constantinople.

S Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabas the Younger* 16.25-27, ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS pp. 215-216; ed. TSAMIS p. 189: "...τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιβαίνει πέλαγος καὶ Λῆμνον μὲν τὴν γείτονα παραλλάττει πρῶτον, ἔπειτα Λέσβον ὁρᾷ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν Χίον· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νοῦν εἶχεν ... ”

Bibl.: *PLP* 27991; FESTUGIERE, *Vie de S. Sabas le Jeune* 233-249; MAKRIS, *Schiffahrt* 228-229; CHRESTOU, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, v. 2 199-215.

265. Sanudo Niccolò I of Naxos (Σανούτος Νικόλαος)

D 1334-1335

B Son of Guglielmo I Sanudo and Maria Aleman; Venetian leader of the “Duchy of Naxos and Andros” (1323-1341), the fifth governor in the dynasty of Sanudo. Not named, but referred to as the leader of the Cyclades by Gregoras, he sided with Andronikos III (in his naval campaign against Martino Zaccaria of Chios), sending four galleys in 1330. However, in 1334-1335 he supported Domenico Cattaneo in his “treacherous attack” against Lesbos by three ships. Along with the leader of the Hospitallers of Rhodes, the three formed an alliance which succeeded in capturing the castle of Mytilene, but not the rest of the island. Moreover, overestimating his own forces, Cattaneo retained Mytilene for himself showing no respect for his deal with his allies. When the Rhodians and Venetians realized his malice, they left him alone in the defence of Mytilene and returned to their bases.

In his account of the same events, Kantakouzenos mentions but only the Hospitallers as Cattaneo's “temporary” allies. Niccolò Sanudo is mentioned in another instance by Kantakouzenos (*History* 2.12, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 p. 385.9-10).

S Gregoras, *History* 11.1, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 525.10-526.22: “...Οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν παράλιον Φώκαιαν οἰκοῦντες, ἢ πλησίον κεῖται τῆς Σμύρνης, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἡγεμονεύων δόλῳ μεταθέμενοι τὸν σκοπὸν, σύνθημα ἔσχον λάθρᾳ ἐπιθέσθαι ταῖς τε ῥωμαϊκαῖς νήσους καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι· δείσαντες ἴσως μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἄλλων ἀφέμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τρέπηται. Ὅθεν ἐπὶ Λέσβον ὁρμήσαντες ἅμα ναυσὶ πεντεκαίδεκα τῆς μὲν ἄλλης νήσου κύριοι γενέσθαι τέως οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ τῷ λιμένι τῆς Μιτυλήνης ἐξαίφνης προσχόντες προδοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν εἶλον εὐθύς. Βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τε Ῥοδίων καὶ τοῦ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἡγεμόνος τά τε χρήματα διαρπάσαι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπίσης ἐπικράτειαν διανείμασθαι τῶν Λεσβίων, δόλῳ τινὶ καὶ ἀπάτῃ χρησάμενος ὁ τῶν Φωκαέων ἀρχηγὸς Κατάνης οἰκίαν τε φρουρὰν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Μιτυλήνην καὶ ταύτην ἐσφετερίσατο τούτους παρακρουσάμενος. Ἐνόμισε γὰρ ῥαδίως ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ὅλης ἄνευ συμμάχων τῆς νήσου κρατήσῃ, ἅτε πλείονα συναμφοτέρων ἐκείνων μόνος αὐτὸς κεκτημένος δύναμιν. Ὅκτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἦλθεν ἔχων τριήρεις μόνας αὐτός, ἃς ἐκ Γεννούης ἔφθη πεπληρωκώς· οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι τέτταρας· τὰς δ' ἐτέρας τρεῖς ὁ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἀρχηγός... οἱ μέντοι συνδεδραμηκότες ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Μιτυλήνης ἄλυσιν Ῥόδιοι μετὰ τῶν

ἐτέρων τὴν τῶν Φωκαέως Κατάνη μοχθηρίαν τῆς γνώμης κατεγνωκότες ἐς τὰ οἶκοι ἀνεχώρησαν...”; German tr.: Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte*, v. 2.2 pp. 274-275.

Related source: a) Kantakouzenos, *History* 2.29, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 476-478, 485-486; b) Gregoras, *History* 9.9, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 p. 438.7-13.

Bibl.: PLP 24807; MILLER, Zaccaria 294; SAINT-GUILLAIN, L’archipel des Seigneurs 177 and 284-286, n. 180 (on Niccolò Sanudo, saying nothing of his role in the capture of Mytilene).

266. de Spinia Juan (Ντζουάν ντὲ Σπίνια)

D Autumn of 1335

B An inhabitant of Phokaia. He figures only in the *History* of Kantakouzenos who portrays him as a Latin noble acquainted with the education of “the Romans”. He played a crucial role in settling the conflict between the Genoese and the Byzantines during the parallel siege of Mytilene and Phokaia. An old acquaintance of the *megas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos, he was noticed by the latter when standing near the gate of Phokaia which was under siege by Andronikos III Palaiologos for five months. Invited to meet Kantakouzenos in his tent straightaway, he postponed it to the next morning. During their meeting the *megas domestikos* recapitulated the troublesome situation which was due to the perfidy (ἀπιστία) of Domenico Cattaneo. Kantakouzenos asked de Spinia to mediate to restore the previous status quo. After remaining silent for a while, de Spinia replied that it was not possible to undo what had happened. Then Kantakouzenos said that justice would be done if Cattaneo returned Mytilene and Phokaia to the Byzantines and set free hostages (the son of Saru-khan and other Turks). In return, the emperor would ask the senate to pardon them (τῇ βουλῇ συγγνώμην κελεύσας παρασχεῖν) and grant them the government of Phokaia. Upon hearing this, de Spinia regretted not having met the *megas domestikos* earlier and so saved his compatriots from many sufferings. On the next day he came to Phokaia and announced to Donardo and the others what Kantakouzenos had told him. Not only were the latter’s suggestions fully accepted, they all promptly asked the emperor’s pardon for their misdeeds. After conveying their decisions to the *megas domestikos*, de Spinia was given a ship to sail to Mytilene where the peace proposals were gladly received by Domenico Cattaneo. De Spinia and Cattaneo’s representative then, returned to Phokaia to report the news to the Byzantine emperor.

Juan de Spinia is otherwise unattested. In all probability, he was Genoese and his family name, as rendered by Kantakouzenos corresponds to the well-attested “Spinola,” a family with close relations with the Byzantines; several *podestà* of Pera bore the name of Spinola (see BALARD, *Romanie* v. 2 899-900). In 1305 Opicino Spinola became the father-in-law of the *despotes* Theodoros Palaiologos (see Pachymeres, *History* 13.18, ed. FAILLER p. 659), whereas Antonio de Spinola, a galley-commander, was sent to Constantinople to take this Theodoros to Lombardy and support Andronikos II “against the Franks of Romania” (see Muntaner, *Crònica* 227). Kantakouzenos elsewhere reports (*History* 1.8, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 38-39) that the Spinola were one of the three Genoese families which had supported Andronikos III in his rivalry with Andronikos II.

S Kantakouzenos, *History* 2.30-31, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 484-495: “...συμβέβηκε τὸν μέγαν δομέστικον παρὰ τὴν τῆς Φωκαίας πύλην ἰδεῖν ἐστῶτα Ντζουάν ντὲ Σπίνιά τινα ὠνομασμένον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ γνώριμος πρότερον καὶ συνήθης, ἐκ τε τῶν παρὰ Λατίνοις ἐπιφανῶν ὄντα καὶ παιδείας τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανῶς μετεσχηκότα... φίλον ἀρχαῖον ὄντα καὶ συνήθη καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον διατρίβοντα πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ταῖς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ἅπαξ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠθέλησεν ἐλθεῖν οὐδὲ ἀσπάσασθαι οἷα φίλον, καὶ ἕτερ’ ἅττα ὅσα ἦν ἀρμόζοντα προσθεῖς τῷ χρόνῳ ... Ντζουάν μὲν οὖν ἀποδεξάμενος τοὺς λόγους οἶκαδε ἀπῆλθεν· εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν δὲ ἅμα πρῶι εἰς τὴν μεγάλου δομεστίκου ἦκει σκηνὴν καὶ προσηγόρευεν αὐτόν. Ἀντιπροσειπὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτόν καὶ μόνον παραλαβὼν, λόγου ἦρχε πρὸς αὐτόν τοιοῦδε· «...πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀδικούμενοι, πρῶτοι ἐπῆλθετε τῇ Λέσβῳ οὔση ὑπηκόω βασιλεῖ ἀδικούντες καὶ πλεονεκτοῦντες, οὐπὲρ οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξάρνους δυνήσεσθαι γενέσθαι· ... Λέσβῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιόντες, Δηλίους ἐπέισατε καὶ Σικελιώτας συμμαχεῖν, βασιλέως δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ὑμῖν, οἱ σύμμαχοι ὥχοντο ὑμᾶς ἀπολιπόντες, οὐδὲ ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν δυνήθέντες. Ὑμῶν δὲ μόνων ἀπολελειμμένων, οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο κατὰ τὴν Καλλονὴν ἐν πέντε τριήρεσι διαφθαρέντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Μιτυλήνην καὶ Φώκαιαν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι πολιορκεῖσθε, οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα βεβαίαν σωτηρίας ... Ντζιωνὰν δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε περὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος ἡνίατο

χρόνου, ὅτι μὴ πρότερον μεγάλῳ δομεστικῷ συνεγένετο · ἡ γὰρ ἂν αὐτός τε πολλῶν ἀπήλλακτο κακῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἴτιος κατέστη... Καὶ παρασχεσθείσης αὐτῷ νεώς, εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἦλθε · συγγενόμενός τε Δομενικῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης διαλεχθείς, ἐπεὶ κάκεινῳ ἀσμένως ἐγίνοντο οἱ λόγοι καὶ πολλὰς χάριτας ὠμολόγει βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀνεξικακίας, ἀναστρέψας ἐκείθεν, εἰς Φώκαιαν ἐπεραιώθη, ἄγων καὶ ἕτερόν τινα, ὃς ἔμελλεν ἐκ προσώπου Δομενικοῦ βασιλέα προσκυνήσειν.” (extracts); German tr.: Kantakuzenos, Geschichte, v. 2 pp. 113-121.

Bibl.: *PLP* 26550; KYRRIS, John Cantacuzenus 23-25; SCHMALZBAUER, Prosopographie 185; WEISS, Kantakuzenos 17; NICOL, Kantakouzenos 42; Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte, v. 2.2 371-372; Kantakuzenos, Geschichte, v. 2 231, n. 263.

267. Tarigo Giulano

D 20 September, 1334

B A Genoese *notarios* who witnessed the signing of a document in Mytilene between Anthonius Gainfia de Finali and Rinaldo di Portu.

The Tarigo family came from the town Stella on the western coast (Riviera) of Liguria.

S BALLETO, Genova no. 11 (p. 173): “actum in portu Meteli<ni>, anno dominice Nativitatis MCCCXXXIII, indictione prima, die XX septembris, ora vespere. Testes Ianotus de Rollando, Iohannes de Begali.”

Bibl.: SCORZA, Famiglie nobili 243.

268. Theodora, wife of Keladites Ioannes (Θεοδώρα)

D September, 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B Wife of Ioannes Keladites and mother of Niketas and Kale. She is attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: “Ἰωάν[ης] ὁ Κελαδίτ[ης], ἔχ[ει] Θεο[δω]ρ[αν], υἱὸν Νικήτ[αν], θυγ[α]τ[έ]ρ[α] Καλ[ή]ν, βοῖδ[ι]ον ἁ΄, (χ)οῖρους ζ΄, τέλος κοκκίον ἔν.”

269. Theodoros bishop of Eresos (Θεόδωρος)

D Second half of 13th c.

B Bishop of Eresos who consecrated a small monastery (μονυδρίου) in the area of Basilika at the suggestion of Gregorios, the metropolitan of Mytilene. The monastery was dedicated to the Archangel Michael the so-called Akronesiotes. Time and again its jurisdiction under the metropolitan see of Mytilene was disputed by the patriarchal exarch (early 14th c.).

Like Gregorios, Theodoros was a contemporary of the patriarch Arsenios Autorianos.

S *PRK* I 464 and 474, acts nos. 79 and 80 (= *MM* I 114 and 117): “τῆς τούτου (sc. μονυδρίου) καθιερώσεως γενομένης παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἐρισοῦ κῦρ Θεοδώρου ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ εἰς ἀρχιερέα τηνικαῦτα εὑρισκομένου Μιτυλήνης, κῦρ Γρηγορίου ἐκείνου, ... ” and “ὡς καθιερωθὲν ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ τηνικαῦτα ἀρχιερέως Μιτυλήνης, κῦρ Γρηγορίου ἐκείνου, παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἐρισοῦ ἐκείνου κῦρ Θεοδώρου ... ”

Bibl.: *PLP* 7376; LAURENT, Regestes 1358; DARROUZÈS, Regestes 2117-2118; PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, Histoire d'un évêché byzantin 396.

270. Theodoros metropolitan of Mytilene (Θεόδωρος)

D Wednesday, 19 March, 1224

B Metropolitan mentioned in a court document referring to a dispute between the monastery of Xerochoraphion (or Hiera) and the *episkepsis* of Sampson; both foundations were located in the

Maiandros valley in W Asia Minor. The document bears the inscription “[ἀπο]κατάστασις τοῦ Βαρδαλῆ.” As the text of the document has not been preserved in full, it is hard to determine what the dispute was precisely about. At any rate, the case was judged in the presence of the most holy metropolitan of Mytilene.

The precise date, combined with the indiction could fall in the 13th c., either in the year 1224 or in 1269. The last editors of the document plausibly adopted the first chronology. The metropolitan of Mytilene had probably settled in W Asia Minor on account of the Latin domination of Lesbos. He could have returned to Lesbos after Vatatzes’ reconquest.

- S** WILSON and DARROUZÈS, *Hiéra-Xérochoraphion* 20 [= *NE* 11 (1914) 401-406; *MM* V 56]: “[Μη]νὶ μαρτίῳ ιθ΄, ἡμέρᾳ γ΄, (ινδικτιῶνος) ιβ΄, ἐπὶ παρ(ου)σ(ίᾳ) τοῦ πανιερωτ(ά)τ(ου) μη(τ)ροπ(ο)λίτου Μιτυλήν(ης) κυροῦ Θεοδ(ώ)ρ(ου) ...”

Bibl.: WILSON and DARROUZÈS, *Hiéra-Xérochoraphion* 19; MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 192-193; ŠEVČENKO, Léon *Bardalès* 247-259.

271. Theodosios ek prosopou of the metropolitan of Mytilene (Θεοδόσιος)

D 1315-1327

- B** Mentioned in the title of an epigram composed by the poet Manuel Philes (ca. 1275-ca. 1345) and dedicated to the *megas logothetes* Theodoros Metochites (1270-1332). The poem refers to a book which was owned by the metropolitan of Mytilene Dionysios Arkas and offered to the monastery of Chora in Constantinople; it contained ascetical works (v. 27: ἀσκητικῶν γάρ ἐστι καμάτων τύπος). Apparently, Theodosios was Dionysios’ representative, who handed the book over to the Constantinopolitan monastery.

By mistake Moutzoures considered that Theodosios was a metropolitan and placed him between 1331 and 1341; yet, judging from the dedication in the concluding verses of Philes’ epigram, where Dionysios is styled “ποιμὴν ... Λεσβίων,” we can infer that Theodosios could not have occupied the see of Mytilene at that time.

- S** GEDEON, *Ποιήματα* 658-659: “Ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ μητροπολίτου Μιτυλήνης Θεοδοσίου τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ διὰ βιβλίον, ὃ προσήνεξε τῇ αὐτοῦ μονῇ τῆς Χώρας.”

Bibl.: MOUTZOURES, *Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης* 196.

272. Theoleptos the monk (Θεόληπτος)

D Early 14th c.-after 1323

- B** A monk in the monastery of the patriarch and saint Athanasios I (ca. 1230/1235-before 1323). The monastery was situated on Xerolophos in Constantinople. Following orders, he once went to Lesbos, where by mistake he swallowed a leech when drinking some water. Stuck in his throat, it could have led to his death. Thus he left from the island and came back to his monastery in the capital. After he prostrated himself in the coffin of the saint, he greedily gulped the oil from the holy lamp and recovered his health.

It is known from other sources that the monastery of Athanasios possessed estates on the island (cf. patriarchal act of 1383, *MM* II 83, and *Actes de Lavra* II 156). Also the patriarchal act no. 106, dated April 1331, records that the monastery τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀθανασίου appropriated the monastery of Hagia Theophano that was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Methymna (*PRK* I 608-610).

- S** TALBOT, *Faith Healing* 100.31-102.14 (§ 52): “Ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸς ἂν εἴη καὶ τὸ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Θεολήπτου διασαφῆσαι. Οὗτος τοῖς φοιτηταῖς τοῦ μεγάλου συνών, καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταττόμενον εὐπετῶς ἐκπληρών ... προστάττεται παρὰ τῇ Λέσβῳ φοιτῆσαι, καὶ διατρίβων ἐκεῖσε, φθόνῳ τοῦ παλαμναίου Βελίαρ, καταπέπτωκε σὺν τῷ ὕδατι λεληθότως βδέλλαν, οὐ μὴν ἐκείνην τὴν Σολομώντειον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν ὕδασι νηχομένην, ἣν πάντες ἴσασιν, ἥτις καὶ κολληθεῖσα τούτου τῷ λάρυγγι, καὶ τῇ συνήθει ἀπληστίᾳ τοῦ αἵματος δεινῶς ἐκμυζῶσα, κίνδυνον ὅσον οὐπω ἡπείλει τῷ μοναχῷ. Ἀπάρας τοίνυν ἐκεῖθεν, τὴν βασιλίδα καταλαμβάνει. Πρόσεισι τῇ μονῇ, προσπίπτει τῷ τεμένει τῷ θήκη τὴν πανίερον ἔχοντι, προσπλέκεται τῇ

σορῶ, κατασπάζεται ταύτην, λούει θερμοῖς τοῖς δάκρυσιν. Εἶτα πίστει ζεούση δραξάμενος τῆς φωταγωγῶ, χανδὸν ἐκροφᾷ, καὶ ὡς μόνον τῆς βδέλλης τὸ ποθὲν ἦψατο, διαλύει ταύτην οἱ καὶ πῦρ. Καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ Θεόληπτος ἀπαθής, δοξάζων τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν δοτήρα Θεόν, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα Ἀθανάσιον.”

Bibl.: *PLP* 93568; comm. in TALBOT, *Faith Healing* 137-138; LEMERLE, *Aydin* 59 n. 2, 108-109.

273. Thomopoulos (Θωμόπουλος)

D Second half of 13th c.

B Priest and *skeuophylax* of the see of Eresos who, along with the *protopapas* Lazaros, asserted in writing that the monastery of the Archangel Michael (the so-called Akronesiotes) in the area of Basilika belonged to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Mytilene. Along with his colleague, he is referred to as old and trustworthy.

S *PRK* I 466 and 474, acts nos. 79 and 80 (= *MM* I 114 and 117): text as in *Lazaros* (no. 229).

Bibl.: *PLP* 7803; DARROUZÈS, *Regestes* 2117-2118; KRAUS, *Kleriker im späten Byzanz* 236-237; also *ODB* 1909-1910 and DARROUZÈS, *Recherches* 314-318 (on the office of *skeuophylax*).

274. Timotheos (Τιμόθεος)

D 13th c.

B *Exarchos* and *ostiarios* of the Great Church; according to a note by a certain Kyritzes, he was allowed to enter the monasteries of Hosios Gregorios and Aristai on Lesbos. The ensuing dispute was to be decided by the patriarch Arsenios Autorianos.

S *PRK* I 490, act no. 83 (= *MM* I 122-123): “ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πατριαρχικὸς ἑξάρχος, ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ὀσιτᾶριος τῆς ἀγιωτάτης τοῦ Θεοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας ὁ Τιμόθεος ἐκ τῆς παρεκβολῆς τῆς ἐνσεσημασμένης παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίτζη εἰς τὰς μονὰς ταύτας εἰσέρχεσθαι ὥρμητο...”

Bibl.: *PLP* 28192; DARROUZÈS, *Regestes* 2117-2118; on the office of *ostiarios*, see *ODB* 1540.

275. Tornikes, Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos (Τορνίκης, Ἀνδρόνικος Κομνηνὸς Δούκας Παλαιολόγος)

D 1327

B Son of Isaakios Tornikes and Maria Tornikaina Palaiologina, he served Andronikos II Palaiologos as *parakoimomenos* for the period 1324-1327. Among the missions he undertook was the withdrawal of the mercenary troops of Koumanoi from Thrace to the islands of Lemnos, Thasos, and Lesbos. He undertook this mission along with Manuel Laskaris.

He was also married to a lady of the Tzamlakon family and died as a monk with the name Antonios; as such he is mentioned in the *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis* in Constantinople.

The Tornikes family was of Armenian origin. The office of *parakoimomenoi*, the highest a eunuch could reach, was split under the Palaiologoi between the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* and *tou koitonos*.

S Kantakouzenos, *History* 1.51, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1, p. 259.7-10): “... προστάξαντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου βασιλέως ὁ Τορνίκης Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ ὁ Λάσκαρις Μανουὴλ ἀνέστησάν τε ἀπὸ Θράκης καὶ ταῖς νήσοις Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσῳ ἐγκατέκτισαν καὶ τῇ Λέσβῳ.”; German tr.: Kantakuzenos, *Geschichte* v. 1 177.

Related source: DELEHAYE, *Deux Typica* 93; Engl. tr.: A.-M. TALBOT, in: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* v. 4 1562.

Bibl.: *PLP* 29122; *ODB* 2096-2097 (on the Tornikes family); POLEMIS, *Doukai* 185 (on Andronikos Tornikes); GUILLAND, *Recherches*, v. 1 202-215 (on the office of *parakoimomenos*); SCHMALZBAUER, *Prosopographie* 207-208; Kantakuzenos, *Geschichte* v. 1 270; also CUTLER and MAGDALINO, *Precisions* 181.

276. Tzagaris Georgios (Τζαγκάρης Γεώργιος)

D September, 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. He was the husband of Kale, the father of Maria and Eirene. His property was valued at four *kokkia*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 155: “Γεώργ(ιος) ὁ Τζαγκάρ(ις), ἔχ(ει) Καλ(ήν), θυγ(α)τ(έ)ρ(ας) Μαρ(ίαν) (καί) Εἰρή(νην), τέλος κο(κκία) δ’.”

Bibl.: PLP 27643.

277. Tzagaris Niketas (Τζαγκάρης Νικήτας)

D September, 1306, 1321 or 1336?

B A *paroikos* attested in the *Praktikon* concerning the property of Megisti Lavra in Agiassos. His property was worth six *kokkia*.

On the problem of date of the *Praktikon* see *Introduction: Documents*.

S Actes de Lavra II 156: “Νικήτας ὁ Τζαγκάρης, τέλος κο(κκία) ς’.”

Bibl.: PLP 27663.

278. Umur Pasha I (Όμοῦρ, Ἀμούρ)

D 1332, 1335-1336

B Turkish emir of the beylik of Aydin (1334-1348); born in 1309, he was the second son of Mehmed and grandson of Aydin, founder of the dynasty. Umur Pasha was distinguished for naval activity both on the east and west coast of the Aegean. According to Doukas, after building a new flotilla and departing from the ports of Ionia, he campaigned against Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Naxos, and all adjacent islands. In 1335-1336 he became an ally of Andronikos III while the latter was besieging the Genoese of Domenico Cattaneo in Phokaia and Mytilene. In the same period he met in Klazomenai the *meas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos with whom he maintained a long-standing friendship.

His sea exploits are narrated at length in the *destân* which goes under his name and formed part of the versified chronicle *Düsturname-i Enveri* composed in ca. 1465. According to that text, already in 1329 Umur Pasha possessed 28 ships of different size with which he raided Chios. One of his companions, Ehad Subaşı got hold of a *coque*, a ship of Genoese provenance, sailing offshore from Mytilene (v. 275-282). A few years later, between 1336 and 1340, a tempest forced him and his crew to disembark on a rock across from Lesbos. A ship from the island came to rescue them. The governor of Mytilene entertained them, kissed the emir's hand and offered him many presents which made their beholders marvel. He also had Umur's ship repaired and prepared a great banquet for him. After that, the emir sailed away for Smyrne (v. 1191-1198).

Though frequently mentioned in the *Histories* of Kantakouzenos and Gregoras, Umur is nowhere attested there as having set foot on Lesbos.

S a) Doukas, *History* 7.1, ed. GRECU p. 51.17-18: “... Μιτυλήνην σὺν πάσῃ νήσῳ Λέσβῳ, Χίῳ, Σάμῳ, Νάξιαν καὶ πάσας τὰς περικύκλῳ νήσους.”

b) *Déstan d'Umur Pacha* v. 275-282 (p. 57): “...Ils aperçurent une coque qui voguait, // Ehad Subaşı jeta sur elle son dévolu; // le pacha la regarda de loin // et envoya un message au subaşı. // Il lui dit: “Empare-toi de cette coque, // attaque-la seul ! // Alors Ehad Subaşı l'accosta, l'assaillit // et livra un combat tel que ceux qui le virent en étaient stupéfaits. // Cette coque était de Midilli, elle demanda grâce;” also 88 v. 1191-1198: “Luttant contre les vagues, ils débarquèrent sur un rocher, // ils regardèrent autour d'eux, ils se trouvaient en face de Midilli; // Un bateau partit de Midilli à leur secours // et les prit à bord. // A Midilli le *tekfour* vint lui baiser la main, // Dieu le Très Haut avait dénoué leurs difficultés. // Le *tekfour* vint au-devant de lui avec beaucoup de présents, // ceux qui virent ces présents en furent émerveillés. //

Puis ils réparèrent son bateau. // Ils restèrent devant lui et lui firent de grands festins. // L'emir partit seul pour Izmir, // qui aurait osé à l'attaquer ?" (French tr.)

Related sources: a) Gregoras, *History* 8.1, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 p. 285.9-10; 9.2, ed. v. 1 pp. 525-535; b) Kantakouzenos, *History* 3.56, ed. SCHOPEN v. 2 p. 344.15-17 and 3.63, ed. v. 2 p. 387.9-11.

Bibl.: *PLP* 21059; *EF* 10, 867 (s.v. Umur Pasha); *ODB* 2141; LEMERLE, Aydin 107-115; MORAVCSIK, Byzantinoturcica II 216-217; KYRRIS, John Cantacuzenus 23-25; VISMARA, Le relazioni dell'impero 210-221; SETTON, Papacy 181-183; ZACHARIADOU, Trade and Crusade 23-24, 37-40; NICOL, Byzantium and Venice 256-257; KODER, Aigaion 210; DE PLANHOL, Islam 186-190.

279. de Villeneuve Hélión (Γελίων δὲ Βιλλανόβα)

D 1334-1335

B Grand Master of the Hospitallers of Rhodes (1319-1346); after his appointment by the pope John XXII, he remained in the West for many years and did not come to Rhodes until 6 September, 1332. Despite his late arrival, he restored its finances and augmented the military power of his Order. He also signed a five-year treaty with both the Venetians and the Byzantines which aimed at joint protection and action against the Turks. However, though not mentioned by name, according to Gregoras and Kantakouzenos, with four ships he sided with Domenico Cattaneo and the Venetians of Naxos in order to conquer Lesbos in 1334-1335. The operation was partly successful, but Methymna and Eresos proved impregnable strongholds. However, upon hearing that the Byzantine fleet led by the emperor Andronikos III was sailing against Cattaneo, both he and the Venetians decided to depart from Lesbos. It is likely that their decision was also prompted by their dissatisfaction that the Genoese had taken the lion's share. A few months later, the Knights of Rhodes were asked by the Genoese of Phokaia to mediate so that the Byzantines would bring their siege to an end. He died on 7 May, 1346.

S a) Gregoras, *History* 8.1, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 p. 285.9-10; 9.2, ed. v. 1 pp. 525-535: text as in *Sanudo Niccolò I of Naxos*.

b) Kantakouzenos, *History* 2.29-31, ed. SCHOPEN v. 1 pp. 476-478, 485-486: "οἱ Δήλιοι δὲ ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς παρασκευαζομένους, ναυάρχῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ τὴν γνώμην κατάδηλον ἐποίουν, φάσκοντες ὡς πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἀνθρώποις ἢ βασιλεῖ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ὄπλα ἀνταίρειν εἶεν δυνατοί. Οὐ δὲ ἔνεκα καὶ πρὶν καταστήσασθαι ἐς τὴν μάχην, φανεράν αὐτῷ τὴν βουλὴν ποιεῖν, ὅπως τάχιστα τὰ δέοντα βουλευέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναγκασθῇ φεύγειν αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀγενῶς, μήτε ὄπλα ἀνταιρόντων αὐτῶν μήτε ἀμυνομένων. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔνεκα ἐπήνεσε καὶ χάριν ὡμολόγησε πολλήν. Δομένικῳ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἄρχοντι τοῦ στόλου, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ναυάρχοις τῶν Λατίνων προσελθόν, οὐκ ἔφασκε δεόντως βεβουλευθῆναι πρὶν ἄκριβῶς ἐκμαθεῖν ὅποσας ἄγοι τριήρεις ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀπερισκέπτως πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὕτω καὶ θρασέως χωρεῖν. Ἐὰν γὰρ συμβαίῃ ἡττηθῆναι, οὐδὲν ἄλλο λείπεται ἢ παντάπασι διαφθαρῆναι, πάντων τῶν ἐνθάδε πολεμίων ὄντων καὶ συνεπιθησομένων, οὐ δὲ ἔνεκα ἐχρῆν πρότερον τὴν δύναμιν βασιλέως ἐρευνᾶν ὅποσῃ ἄγοι. Κἂν μὲν οἰοί τε ἦτε διανυμαχεῖν, ἂν δὲ μή, καταφυγὴν τινα ὅπῃ σωθήσεσθε ζητεῖν. Ἐγὼ δὲ προθύμως μὲν ἂν πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν συνηγωνισάμην παρὼν ὑμῖν· Δηλίους δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τὸ πείσον ὄπλα ἀνταίρειν βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ πάντα μᾶλλον αἰρετέα, ἢ πρὸς βασιλέα αὐτοῖς πολεμητέα εἶναι λέγουσι ..." (extracts).

Bibl.: *PLP* 2733; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Les Hospitaliers 87-90; SCHLUMBERGER, Numismatique 224 f., 228, 240, 245, 253; LEMERLE, Aydin 54-61; Johanniter-Orden 158; LUTTRELL, Hospitallers at Rhodes 288-296; IDEM, Papacy 180-181; IDEM, Hospitallers at Rhodes 293-294; BARKER, Hospitallers 47.

280. Zacharias Georgios (Ζαχαρίας Γεώργιος)

D 1288 or 1317

B A merchant from Philadelphieia in Lydia. Accompanied by five monks on a journey to Thessalonike, he stopped at Lesbos where he spent the night at the house of the merchant Manuel Cholos from Smyrne. The next morning they were all accused by Cholos of having stolen five pigs (μοχθηρά) from his courtyard. To prevent him from taking them to court, the monks paid him two *hyperpyra*. However, it seems that the matter was not settled. After more than ten years, Cholos, escorted by the Venetian consul Sir Amanati, came to an unspecified place (ἐνταῦθα) where he met and recognized Zacharias. He

denounced him before the judges Ioannes Alyates, Georgios Branas, Tzimpinos, Alexios Somanes, and a certain Theodoros.

S LINDSTAM, *Ett i Mitylene* 47-48; independent ed. by SCHREINER, *Venezianische Kolonie* 340-341: text as in *Cholos Manuel*.

Bibl.: PLP 6482; JACOBY, *Les Vénitiens naturalisés* 224 n. 64; MATSCHKE and TINNEFELD, *Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz* 121.

ANONYMOUS

281. Anonymous abbot of the monastery of Aristai

D Before November 1261

B An abbot mentioned in the patriarchal act concerning the dispute between the metropolitan of Mytilene Gregorios and the monasteries of Hosios Gregorios and Aristai in the gulf of Ger(r)a. Although his monastery was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Mytilene, he presented a false document stating that the monastery belonged to the patriarchate from olden times. He also showed a letter of the patriarch Arsenios wherein he was named abbot of Aristai. However, after an investigation, Arsenios decided that the letter presented by the abbot had no value and that the monastery should again be placed under the jurisdiction of the see of Mytilene.

S *PRK* I 494-496, act 84 (= *MM* I 124): “... χθὲς ἤδη ὁ καὶ πρότριτα ὁ προϊστάμενος τῆς ῥηθείσης μονῆς ἐλθὼν ἠπάτησεν, ὡς ἔκπαλαι ὑπὸ τὴν πατριαρχικὴν ἐτέλει ἐξουσίαν ...”

Bibl.: LAURENT, *Regestes* 1358, 1359, 1360.

282. Anonymous bishop of Ger(r)a

D Before November 1261

B A bishop mentioned in the patriarchal act concerning the dispute between the metropolitan of Mytilene Gregorios and the monasteries of Hosios Gregorios and Aristai in the gulf of Ger(r)a.

S *PRK* I 490, act 83 (= *MM* I 123): “... ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρεκβολῇ ταύτῃ ἀπεφάνθησαν τινὰ συνοδικῶς ἃ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Γέρρας σημειώματι περιλαμβάνονται ...”

Bibl.: LAURENT, *Regestes* 1358; LAURENT, *Corpus* V/1 573.

283. Anonymous logothetes and visitor to Mytilene

D February, before 1355, probably 1345/46 (?)

B A dignitary mentioned in a letter addressed by Makarios Paradeissas to Makarios Chrysoskephalos, metropolitan of Philadelpheia (1336-1382). Paradeissas styles him as the most honorable and “best for me” *logothetes* and reports that he had traveled to Mytilene from the capital. He met him while the latter was walking about the harbor. Following an exchange of compliments, the *logothetes* informed Paradeissas about the good developments in Constantinople regarding the emperors and their enemies. He also suggested to him that he write a letter to their common father and master, the metropolitan of Philadelpheia.

Judging from the words by which he is designated in the letter, this person must have belonged to the civil rather than the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The letter of Paradeissas has been dated to the mid-1340's, at any rate prior to 1355.

S WALTHER, *Briefe an Makarios* 218: “... ἐπεὶ κατήειν ἐς νεώριον, εἴ τι πλοῖον εἶη πευσόμενος εὐθὺ πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης ἀπαίρον, κἀνταῦθά τε εἰστήκειν περισκοπῶν, τὸν τιμιώτατον ὁρῶ καὶ βέλτιστον ἐμοὶ λογοθέτην περινοστοῦντα. Ἦδη γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Νέας καθ' ἡμᾶς κατάρας ἔτυχε Ῥώμης. Καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα συμμειδιῶντι καὶ χαρίεντι τῷ προσώπῳ χειρὰ τε προτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ τὸ φίλοις εἰωθὸς χαίρειν προσειπὼν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀντιλαβὼν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορσι κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων

ἀντιπραττόμενα ἐρομένοις ὡς ἡδιστα φράσας ἡμῖν ἐκείνο τῷ τέλει προσέθετο τῆς ὁμιλίας ὡς τῷ κοινῷ πατρὶ καὶ προστάτῃ Φιλαδελφείας, εἴ τι μέλοι σοι, γράψον.”

Bibl.: WALTHER, Briefe an Makarios 215-218; GUILLAND, Logothètes.

284. Anonymous metropolitan of Mytilene I

D Monday, 9 May, 1216, and Friday, 19 August, 1216

B Mentioned in two synodic letters by Nikolaos Mesarites, metropolitan of Ephesos. In the first he is simply quoted in a letter of the emperor Theodoros I Laskaris dated April 1216 and summoning the metropolitans of Sardis, Karia, Crete, Mytilene, Philadelphiea, and Miletos to elect a new patriarch. Presided by the prelate of Ephesos, the synod considered that the loss of the imperial capital was no impediment for summoning a council. The second letter refers to the metropolitan of Mytilene who, not succumbing to the Latin intentions (λατινικοῖς θελήμασιν), managed to obtain an imperial decree that he could take over and be installed at any vacant bishopric of the metropolitan of Ephesos. However, it so happened that the bishopric of Anaia being vacant at that time, was assigned by the local synod of Ephesos to Nikolaos Kalognomos, deacon of the Great Church. Yet once the metropolitan of Mytilene presented the imperial decision, it was decided that he be installed at the bishopric of Anaia and perform its liturgical duties, without being seated on its throne. As for the appointment of Nikolaos Kalognomos, the local synod of Ephesos decided that it remain inactive.

He may be identical with Theodoros no. 270.

S KURTZ, Tri sinodal'nych gramoty 104 (*Letter 1*): “... διορίζεται σοι ἡ βασιλεία μου καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς μετακαλέσασθαι μητροπολίτας ἡγουν τὸν Σάρδεων, τὸν Καρίας, τὸν Κρήτης, τὸν Μιτυλήνης, τὸν Φιλαδελφείας καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς Μιλήτου, μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας συνοδίας ἕκαστον ...”; and *ibid.* 110-111 (*Letter 3*): “... ὁ πανιερώτατος μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης καὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ συλλειτουργὸς τῇ ἡμῶν μετριότητι, τῆς λαχούσης αὐτὸν ἁποικος γεγονώς, οἷα μὴ τοῖς λατινικοῖς θελήμασιν ὑποκύπτειν βουλόμενος, ... καὶ ὁ πανιερώτατος μητροπολίτης Μιτυλήνης ἐπιδεδημήκει ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ... καὶ συνδιασκεψάμενοι συνοδικῶς, εἰ δέον ἐστὶν ἐγκαταστήναι τὸν Μιτυλήνης ἐν τῇ Ἀνέᾳ, μὴ μόνον τὴν ἐκεῖθεν εἴσοδον ἐκκαρποῦσθαι αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀρχιερατικὰ δίκαια ἐνεργεῖν, διέγνωμεν τὸν μὲν Μιτυλήνης προτιμηθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἐγκαταστήναι τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐπισκοπῇ...” (extracts).

Bibl.: DÖLGER, Regesten 1698 and 1701; AHRWEILER, Smyrne 25-26; ANGOLD, Government 51; MALTEZOU, Les Grecs de la mer Egée 142.

285. Anonymous metropolitan of Mytilene II

D Before 1300

B He is mentioned in the *Typikon* of the Constantinopolitan convent of the Theotokos of *Bebaia Elpis*; this document survives under the name of Theodora Synadene, niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos and founder of the convent. Both he and the equally unnamed metropolitan of Ephesos, Synadene's spiritual father, were donors who, in exchange for their gifts to the foundation, were granted special commemorative services. In an appendix to the initial *Typikon*, written by Euphrosyne Palaiologina, daughter of the founder, he is referred to as having donated to the convent a solid gold icon of the Theotokos decorated with precious stones and pearls as well as liturgical stoles and cuffs, also adorned with pearls.

Since the date of the *Typikon* is vague, the precise identity of this metropolitan is impossible to determine. A.-M. Talbot considered that both metropolitans must have been absentee prelates residing in the capital.

S DELEHAYE, Deux typica 102 (§ 156): “Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μιτυλήνης ἐκείνου προέδρου μνημόσυνα τελείσθω κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ’ ἣν ἐτελεύτησε, κατὰ τὸ ὑμῖν ἐγχωροῦν. Προσήνεγκε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ μονῇ εἰκόνα κεκοσμημένην μετὰ λίθων τιμίων καὶ μαργάρων ὀλόχρυσον, τὴν ὑπεραγίαν μου Θεοτόκον τὴν ἀκαταμάχητον, ἐπιτραχήλια καὶ ἐπιμάνικα καὶ αὐτὰ μετὰ μαργάρων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴδὲ τὰ αὐτοῦ μνημόσυνα κωλύεσθω γίνεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐμὴ ἀγία κυρία καὶ μήτηρ ἔτι περιοῦσα τῷ βίῳ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔθετο τελείσθαι τὰ τούτου μνημόσυνα”; Engl. tr.: A.-M. TALBOT, in: Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, v. 4 1566-1567.

Bibl.: A.-M. TALBOT, in: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, v. 4 1520.

286. Anonymous monk, disciple of St Gregorios of Sinai

D Summer 1326

B Monk and disciple of St Gregorios of Sinai. Together with Kallistos, the future patriarch of Constantinople, he accompanied his spiritual father on his voyage to Jerusalem. After they arrived at Chios, they were warned by a monk and decided not to travel any further and went instead to Lesbos where they spent some time on Mount Libanon. Unable to find quietude, they departed for Constantinople.

S Kallistos I, *Life of St Gregorios of Sinai* 15, ed. POMJALOVSKIJ pp. 33.32-34.6: text as in *Gregorios of Sinai, saint*.

Bibl.: as in *Gregorios of Sinai, saint*.

287. Anonymous patriarchal exarch

D End of 13th c.-early 14th c.

B He is reported as having physically entered, with greedy purposes the monastery of Hosios Georgios and its dependent monasteries, namely that of Hosioi Pateres and Hagios Andreas of Glistra. Following the synodic act of Wednesday, 19 September, 1324, whereby the monastery came back under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Mytilene, he was prohibited from setting foot either in the main monastery or on its estates.

S *PRK* I 462, act no. 79 (= *MM* I 112-113): “... ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν συνδιασκεψαμένη τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν ἱερωτάτοις ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ ἀκριβέστερον προσχοῦσα ταύτη καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς κατειληφύια διεξιούσης τρόπῳ πλεονεκτικῷ εἰσιέναι τὸν πατριαρχικὸν ἔξαρχον ἔν τε τῇ ῥηθείᾳ μονῇ τοῦ ὁσίου Γεωργίου καὶ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν μετοχοῖς, τῇ τε τοιαύτῃ δηλονότι μονῇ τῶν Ὁσίων Πατέρων καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τῆς Γλίστρας, ἐν ᾧ παρακελεύεται πνεύματι μηκέτι τοαποτοῦδε μήτ’ ἐν τῇδε τῇ μονῇ τῶν Ὁσίων Πατέρων μήτε μὴ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὰς κτήμασι παραβάλλειν αὐτόν.”

Bibl.: MOUTZOURIS, Κατάλογος Μυτιλήνης 193.

288. Anonymous protekdikos

D A Friday of April, 1331

B A clergyman of the metropolitan see of Methymna; both he and the *sakellarios* of the same see were persuaded by monks of the monastery of Kaleus in Constantinople to provide them with a false document testifying that the four monasteries of Hagios Nikolaos, Kale Langas, Xerokastron, and Mysine belonged to them and not to Malachias, metropolitan of Methymna.

Protekdikoi were in charge of the legal matters of an ecclesiastical see; as an office it was 6th in the administrative hierarchy of a metropolitan see.

S *PRK* I 608, act no. 106 (= *MM* I 164): text as in *Malachias metropolitan of Methymna*.

Bibl.: on the office of *protekdikos*, see *ODB* 1742-1743; DARROUZÈS, *Recherches* 323-332; LEONTARITOU, *Εκκλησιαστικά αξιώματα* 197-210.

289. Anonymous sakellarios

D A Friday of April 1331

B A clergyman of the metropolitan see of Methymna; both he and the *protekdikos* of the same see were persuaded by monks of the monastery of Kaleus in Constantinople to provide them with a false document

testifying that the four monasteries of Hagios Nikolaos, Kale Langas, Xerokastron, and Myrsine belonged to them and not to Malachias, metropolitan of Methymna.

S *PRK* I 608, act no. 106 (= *MM* I 164): text as in *Malachias metropolitan of Methymna*.

Bibl.: on the office of *sakellarios*, see *ODB* 1828-1829; DARROUZÈS, *Recherches* 310-314; LEONTARITOU, *Εκκλησιαστικά αξιώματα* 515-524.

290. Anonymous monks from Constantinople

D A Friday of April 1331

B During the patriarchate of Esaïas (1323-1332), an unspecified number of monks from the monastery of Kaleus (Καλέως) in Constantinople, including their abbot Hilarion, were accused by Malachias, the metropolitan of Methymna, of having appropriated four monasteries (those of Hagios Nikolaos, Kale Langas, Xerokastron, and Myrsine) that were under his jurisdiction. As proof of their claim, they presented a forged imperial *chrysoboullon* obtained by them from officials of the Church of Methymna. In order to defend himself and his monks against the accusation, Hilarion was requested to appear before the synodical court where it was proven that they had procured the *chrysoboullon* by false report (ἐκ ψευδοῦς ἀναφορᾶς). Nevertheless, the decision was postponed until the emperor himself (Andronikos III) was informed about the case. He then announced through his son-in-law, the *megas domestikos*, that the patriarchal court had to judge the case according to Canon Law. Once again Hilarion was asked to appear before the synod, but, since he had nothing more to present or to say, it was decided that the monasteries seized by the monks of Kaleus be given back to the metropolitan of Methymna; moreover, that any attempt at usurpation occurring in the future would lead to a severe penance for these and other monks.

Although Dölger thought that the monastery of Kaleus was located near Methymna, according to A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, it was identical to that of Kyr Antonios, also known as “τοῦ Καλλίου, Καλέως or Καυλέως” (cf. COTSONIS and NESBITT, Antony II Kauleas). P. Magdalino identifies it instead with a monastery in Bithynia. A Theodoros Kaleus is attested in a document dated February 1st, 1112; see *Actes de Docheiariou* 68.

S *PRK* I 608, act no. 106 (= *MM* I 164): text as in *Malachias metropolitan of Methymna*.

Bibl.: for the monastery and the abbot Hilarion, see *PLP* 8157; DARROUZÈS, *Regestes* 2164; cf. DÖLGER, *Regesten* 2771; PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Φιλοθέου Σηλυβρίας Βιογραφία Μακαρίου* 49-50; GEDEON, *Ἑορτολόγιον* 72; JANIN, *Géographie* 39-41; MAGDALINO, *Constantinople médiévale* 81 n. 188.

291. Anonymous tax-collector of Lesbos

D Summer 1304

B A man working as a tax-collector in Mytilene. Both he and Machrames were among those arrested by the Catalan Roger de Flor when the latter came to the island and demanded payment in gold from the local inhabitants. From this person the Catalan leader claimed his gains from tax-collecting, which, he declared, must have amounted to thousands of *nomismata*. Since the ransom seemed impossible to find, Machrames was first put to a cruel death in front of this man. As Pachymeres puts it, the whole incident produced a Gorgon-like effect on the man, petrifying him from terror. Full of tears he implored the Genoese to pay a thousand gold *nomismata* to de Flor and thus he saved his life.

Though this man must have been in the service of the Byzantine emperor, the involvement of the Genoese who paid the ransom is far from clear. The phrasing of Pachymeres suggests that they represented an authority (the Genoese of Chios or Phokaia?) rather than a private group of persons (merchants or otherwise).

S Pachymeres, *History* 11.26, ed. FAILLER p. 481: “Καί τις δὲ ἄλλος, ὡς προενηργηκῶς δημόσια, ἀπητείτο τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνῳ κέρδη, ἐν χιλιάσι καὶ μάλιστα εἰσεπράττετο” and *ibid.*, 483: “Καὶ τὸ συμβάν θατέρῳ θεασαμένῳ Γοργῷ τις ἦν ἀπολιθοῦσα τὸν δαίλαιον, καὶ πικρὸν κλαίει καὶ ποτνιαῖται πρὸς Γεννοῦίτας καὶ τὴν ζωὴν χιλιοστύι χρυσίων παρ’ ἐκείνων περιποιεῖται.” (not in the *Version brève*).

292. Anonymous woman

D Early 13th c.?

B A beneficiary of St Gregorios of Assos' posthumous miracles; inflamed by an incessant fever for the three days of her period, she came close to the saint's walnut tree and, asking for healing, leaned on a branch. The branch dried up immediately, rejecting her. However, after remaining there and in tears imploring the saint, her pains found relief. Whereas the precise branch never recovered, another one grew up into a tall tree.

Her story is recorded only in the *Synaxarion* notice by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (*BHG* 710c).

S *vita* of St Gregorios of Assos (*Synaxarion*), ed. HALKIN p. 34; ed. SOPHIANOS p. 351.

UNSUCCESSFUL TRAVELERS TO LESBOS

293-298. Johannes Barberius, Martinus Benfato, Johannes Franzonus, Boninus Griti, Antonius Pelegrinus, and Dominicus Rasorius

D 6 January, 1274

B Venetian merchants waylaid and robbed at a place called Cethon by a certain Barnabas while traveling from Nigroponte (Euboia) to Metolinum (Mytilene). The ship belonged to Rasorius but was under Barberius' command. According to the treaty of 1277 between Michael VIII Palaiologos and Venice, Venetian traders were entitled to compensation for losses suffered since the treaty of 1268 at the hands of pirates, robbers, adventurers, or custom-officials affiliated with the emperor, as the Venetians claimed Barnabas was.

It is unclear where Cethon was; MARKL (see bibl.) identifies it with Lamia, but Italian versions of Aegean place-names are unreliable. There is also an ambiguity in the text of the Venetian Commission: were Barberius' colleagues on Rasorius' ship or did he pick them up at Mytilene (i.e., is *platia* the antecedent of *in qua* or an implied *insula*)? The former seems more likely, in which case we are dealing with individuals who wanted to travel to Lesbos but did not make it (as far as we know).

S TAFEL and THOMAS, *Urkunden* 200-201 (claim D IV): "item cum reperirent dicti domini Johannem Barberium, cum se dividetur, de Constantinopoli cum I platia Dominici Rasorii, et iret Metolinum, in qua erant ipse Dominicus et Antonius Pelegrinus et Martinus Benfato nauclerius et Boninus Griti et Johannes Franzonus et alii, omnes de Nigroponte, et caricaret ibi de multis victualibus et mercimoniis, longe forte per milliarium I de Cethon - iam sunt IIII anni transacti - in die Epyphanie fuisse captum una cum predictis, et derobatum, et spoliatum nudum, et alios etiam, et dampnificatos fuisse; idcirco dixere ipsi iudices, eidem Johanni pro se et sociis pro ipsorum dampno restitui debere yperpyra LXXXX in tantum de dictis rebus, que valuerint yperpyra LXXXX, per Barnabam, hominem domini Imperatoris, cum una galiota; et hec omnia vera probata et inventa fuisse per scripturam Baiuli, continentem ipsorum dicta et testium productorum super his, iurantium, sic vero fuisse; idcirco..."

Bibl.: for the treaty and the claims commission, see MORGAN, *Commission* 430; and NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice* 197-206; Cethon is listed as Lamia by MARKL *Ortsnamen* 26, 41.

299. Vignoso (or -i) Simone (Βενιοῦζος Συμεών)

D "After 20 September, 1346"

B Genoese commander of the fleet during the period 1346-1350. On 29 January, 1346, he was nominated admiral of a fleet of 29 galleys after an official celebration at the square of S. Laurentius in Genova. He sailed on 24 April of the same year and, after a tour of the area of Monaco, headed south along the Italian peninsula, passing by Terracina, Traietto, and Sessa and ending up at Naples. He departed for Romania

and sailed into the harbor of Nigroponte (Chalkis on Euboia) on 8 June, where he met a squadron of Venetian and papal galleys as well as a ship of the Hospitallers, all led by Humbert, Dauphin of Viennois. Rejecting the latter's offer of gold and money, Vignoso sailed east against the island of Chios, then under Byzantine control. The siege of Chios lasted until 13 September, 1346; five days later he occupied Old Phokaia and soon afterwards, on 20 September, New Phokaia. At that precise time, he and his board of advisors decided to conquer the islands of Lesbos, "now called Metellinum," and Tenedos. However, a voice of protest was heard from his galley rowers, who declined to follow him and demanded that they sail back to Chios. With his entire army and fleet, Vignoso returned to Genova on Thursday, 9 November, 1346.

The above account of events is provided by the Genoese chronicler Giorgio Stella. Vignoso returned to Romania in 1348 and became *podestà* of Chios in 1350. It is in this instance that he is mentioned by Kantakouzenos, *History* 4.12, ed. SCHOPEN v. 3 pp. 82-85.

- S** Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. PETTI BALBI p. 149.14-19: "his ergo peractis elegerunt premissus Simon et consilium eius ad civitatem, que Lesbos vocata est et que nunc dicitur Metellinum, ac ad Tenedon insulam se conferre, ut eas acquirerent Ianuensi accidere; sed naute ad remos statuti pro maiori parte illuc pergere noluerunt, immo doloso et non parvo tumultu posuerunt in ruinam exercitum et ad portum rediere Chiensem."

Bibl.: *PLP* 2618; LEMERLE, *Aydin* 196 n. 3; HEYD, *Histoire du commerce* 491-493; SCHMALZBAUER, *Prosopographie* 43; BALARD, *Romanie* v. 1 77, 123-124; SETTON, *Papacy*, 206-207; MILLER, *Chios* 132-138; BALLETO, Stella.

APPENDIX I

REVISED EPISCOPAL LISTS

The lists below replace those of Fedalto and Moutzouris, which are either incomplete or erroneous. The latest sigillographic evidence has been included, providing also tentative lists for the sees of Eresos and Gera as well.

In no case do we know the full dates of a bishop's tenure; the dates given are those for which they are attested. Homonymous bishops attested in chronological proximity are listed separately, but in many cases they may of course be the same person. Owners of seals dated generally to a period in which a bishop with the same name appears are also listed separately. Bishops in brackets are Latins, either titular in the west or resident on Lesbos in the years after 1204. Bishops in parentheses held the see *kat' epidosin*, i.e., they were bishops of other cities who held this one on a temporary basis. Question marks after a name indicate that the name is not secure, that the person may not have been a bishop, or that he may not have been a bishop of the see to which he is assigned here. For fuller information, the reader should consult the relevant entries.

MYTILENE

| | <i>Date Attested</i> | <i>no.</i> |
|---------------|------------------------------------|------------|
| Euagrios | 359 | 17 |
| Thallos | after 363 | 39 |
| Eulogios (?) | 413 | 20 |
| Ioannes | 431 | 27 |
| Phlorentios | 449-451 | 38 |
| Eunoios | 458-459 | 21 |
| Zacharias | 536 | 44 |
| Chistodoulos | second half of 7 th | 62 |
| Gregorios | 680-681 | 86 |
| Sisinnios | 691-692 | 138 |
| Georgios | first half of 8 th | 79 |
| Damianos | 787 | 65 |
| Michael | 8 th -9 th | 119 |
| Georgios | 804-813, d. 821 | 81 |
| Leon | 815-before 843 | 110 |
| Georgios | 843-845/6 | 80 |
| Michael | mid-9 th | 120 |
| Basileios | 879 | 59 |
| Thomas | second half of 10 th | 150 |
| Thomas | 11 th | 151 |
| Neilos (?) | first half of 11 th | 124 |
| Konstantinos | 1054 | 103 |
| Ioannes (?) | last third of 11 th | 98 |
| Niketas | 1089-1095 | 126 |
| Anonymous (?) | 11 th -12 th | 161 |
| Ioannes | first half of 12 th | 95 |

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| Stephanos | second half of 12 th | 142 |
| Pothos | 1166-1173 | 134 |
| Pothos Haplesphares | 1180 or 1195 | 133 |
| Konstantinos | end of 12 th | 104 |
| [Ioannes] | 1205 | 209 |
| [Ioannes] | 1215-1240 | 210 |
| [Iohannes] | 1238 | 211 |
| Anonymous | 1216 | 284 |
| Theodoros | 1224 | 270 |
| Leon Magentenios | first half of 13 th | 233 |
| Ioseph | before 1256 | 214 |
| Gregorios | 1256-1267 | 202 |
| Demetrios Eirenikos | 1285 | 189 |
| Anonymous | before 1300 | 285 |
| Ioannes | end of 13 th | 212 |
| (Bestarches) | early 14 th | 181 |
| Dionysios | 1315-1327 | 191 |
| Gregorios | 1329-1331 | 203 |
| [Philippus] | 1345-1353 | 260 |
| [Ioannes] | 1353-1375 | 213 |
| Markianos | 1347 | 242 |
| Ioseph | 1354-1355 | 215 |

METHYMNA

| | <i>Date Attested</i> | <i>no.</i> |
|---------------------|--|------------|
| Christodoros | 520 | 10 |
| Andreas | 680-681 | 55 |
| Eustratios | 787 | 75 |
| Iakovos | 867 | 91 |
| Theophylaktos | 691-692 | 148 |
| Konstantinos | first half of 11 th | 102 |
| Philaretos | mid-11 th | 130 |
| Georgios | 1072 | 78 |
| Anonymous | before 1082 | 160 |
| Georgios | 1143 | 82 |
| Georgios Xilopoulos | mid-12 th | 85 |
| Michael Bouches | mid-12 th | 116 |
| Michael | 1157 | 121 |
| Nikolaos | 1166-1167 | 127 |
| Theodoros | 2 nd or 3 rd quarter of 12 th | 145 |
| Makrembolites | | |
| Theodoros | 1173-1177 | 146 |
| Michael | 1250 | 245 |
| Nikephoros | 13 th , before 1261 | 248 |
| (Nikephoros | before 1305 | 247 |
| Moschopoulos) | | |
| (Kyrillos) | ca. 1305 | 226 |

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----|
| Malachias | 1315-1347 | 235 |
|-----------|-----------|-----|

ERESOS

| | <i>Date Attested</i> | <i>no.</i> |
|---------------|--|------------|
| Andreas (?) | first half of 7 th | 5 |
| Basileios (?) | early 11 th | 58 |
| Theodoros | 2 nd half of 13 th | 269 |

GERA

| | <i>Date Attested</i> | <i>no.</i> |
|-----------|----------------------|------------|
| Anonymous | before 1261 | 282 |

APPENDIX II

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED

Alexandria

Alexandrinus 288 (*olim Cairensis* 911): 134, 226

Athens

Atheniensis gr. 2080: 243

Atheniensis gr. 2104: 149

Florence

Ambrosianus D. 54 *sup.* (= 237): 233

Munich

Monacensis gr. 27: 59

Monacensis gr. 43: 59

Monacensis reg. gr. 226: 164

Monacensis gr. 450: 108

Mount Athos

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Megisti Lavra I 127: 163

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Moscow

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Mosquensis gr. 369 (353): 105, 163

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Vaticanus gr. 244: 233

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Vindobonensis historicus gr. 48: Intr.

Vindobonensis theol. gr. 60: 63

Vindobonensis theol. gr. 162: 93

APPENDIX III

INVENTORY OF PERSONS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

| sn | Name | Sex | PLB no | Origin | Social status | source | Language | Century | Begin-end | Location |
|----|------------------------------|-----|--------|--------|---------------|---------------------|----------|---------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Gennadius, Aurelius, Agathus | M | 22 | Byz | Off. | Inscr. | L | 3 | 293–305 | L. |
| 2 | Diogenes | M | 12 | Unk | Off. | Sec. Doc. | L | 3–4 | Aug. 2 of 294, 300, 302 or 305 | Lesbos & other islands |
| 3 | Aristoteles | M | 6 | Loc | TF | Inscr. | Gr | 4 | c. 300 | Triodotos |
| 4 | Dionysios | M | 13 | Loc | TF | Inscr. | Gr | 4 | c. 300 | Leuke akte syn temenei |
| 5 | Elpidephoros | M | 14 | Loc | TF | Inscr. | Gr | 4 | c. 300 | Teichia |
| 6 | Eugenios | M | 19 | Loc | TF | Inscr. | Gr | 4 | c. 300 | Leuke akte syn temenei |
| 7 | Hermo...n | M | 24 | Loc | TF | Inscr. | Gr | 4 | c. 300 | Leuke akte syn temenei |
| 8 | Hesperos | M | 25 | Loc | TF | Inscr. | Gr | 4 | c. 300 | Leuke akte syn temenei |
| 9 | Kyzikios | M | 33 | Loc | TF | Inscr. | Gr | 4 | c. 300 | Teichia |
| 10 | Onesimos | M | 34 | Loc | TF | Inscr. | Gr | 4 | c. 300 | Lesbos |
| 11 | Philodespotos | M | 37 | Loc | TF | Inscr. | Gr | 4 | c. 300 | Aktaon |
| 12 | Euagrios b. of Mytilene | M | 17 | Loc | Eccl. | Eccl.Hist.-Syn. Act | Gr-L | 4 | 359 | Mytilene |
| 13 | Thallos b. of Lesbos | M | 39 | Byz | Eccl. | Eccl. Hist. | Gr | 4 | <i>p.</i> 363 | Mytilene |
| 14 | Aetios | M | 1 | Byz | Exile | Eccl. Hist. | Gr | 4 | 364–365 | Mytilene |
| 15 | Anon. governor | M | 47 | Loc | Official | Eccl. Hist. | Gr | 4 | 365 | Lesbos |
| 16 | Anon. official | M | 48 | Byz | Official | Eccl. Hist. | Gr | 4 | 365 | Lesbos |
| 17 | Errenianos | M | 16 | Loc | Unk | Eccl. Hist. | Gr | 4 | 365 | Lesbos |
| 18 | Gerresianos | M | 23 | Loc | Unk | Eccl. Hist. | Gr | 4 | 365 | Lesbos |
| 19 | Anon. deacon | M | 46 | Loc | Eccl. | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 401–449 | Eresos |
| 20 | Anon. presbyter | M | 49 | Loc | Eccl. | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 401–449 | Eresos |
| 21 | Asteria | F | 7 | Loc | LO | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 401–449 | Eresos |
| 22 | Isidoros | M | 30 | Loc | LO | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 401–449 | Eresos |
| 23 | Timagoras | M | 41 | Loc | Eccl. | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 401–449 | Eresos |
| 24 | Timesias | M | 42 | Loc | LO | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 401–449 | Ypsilometopo |
| 25 | Agostinos | M | 2 | Loc | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 401–449 | Loutra |
| 26 | Pseudo-Alexandros | M | 3 | Byz | Eccl. | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 401–599 | Laphiona |
| 27 | Onesimos | M | 35 | Loc | Official | Inscr. | Gr | 5–6 | 401–599 | Eresos |
| 28 | Ioannes | M | 29 | Loc | Eccl. | Inscr. | Gr | 5–7 | 401–699 | Polichnitos |
| 29 | Auxentios | M | 8 | Loc | Eccl.? | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 413 | Ypsilometopo |
| 30 | Eulogios tou Lalagrioniou | M | 20 | Loc | Eccl.? | Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 413 | Ypsilometopo |
| 31 | Ioannes b. of Lesbos | M | 27 | Loc | Eccl. | Syn. Act-Inscr. | Gr | 5 | 431 | Lesbos |
| 32 | Phlorentios b. of Lesbos | M | 38 | Loc | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 5 | 449–451 | Lesbos |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---|-----|-----|----------------|-------------------|------|---|---------------------|--------------|
| 33 | Euelpistos | M | 18 | Loc | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 5 | 451 | Lesbos |
| 34 | Kyros | M | 32 | Loc | Unk | Lit. | Gr | 5 | 451–499 | Lesbos |
| 35 | Eunoios b. of Mytilene | M | 21 | Loc | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 5 | 458–499 | Mytilene |
| 36 | Isidoros | M | 31 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | Syr. | 5 | c. 490 | Mytilene |
| 37 | Zenodotos | M | 45 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | Syr. | 5 | c. 490 | Mytilene |
| 38 | Anon. presbyter & hegoumenos | M | 50 | Loc | Mon. | Inscr. | Gr | 6 | 501–599 | Eresos |
| 39 | [B]elisarios | M | 9 | Loc | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | 6 | 501–599 | Argala |
| 40 | Demetra | F | 11 | Loc | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | 6 | 501–599 | Argala |
| 41 | Ioannes | M | 28 | Loc | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | 6 | 501–599 | Argala |
| 42 | Tharsikios | M | 40 | Loc | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | 6 | 501–599 | Argala |
| 43 | Christodoros | M | 10 | Loc | Eccl. | Papal Doc. | L | 6 | 520 | Methymna |
| 44 | Zacharias metr. of Mytilene | M | 44 | Byz | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 6 | 536 | Mytilene |
| 45 | Iakovos Baradaios | M | 26 | Byz | Eccl. | Eccl. Hist. | Syr. | 6 | <i>p.</i> 542 | Lesbos |
| 46 | Anatolios | M | 4 | Loc | LO | Inscr. | Gr | 6 | 551–559 | Ypsilometopo |
| 47 | Pappikios | M | 36 | Loc | Eccl. | Inscr. | Gr | 6 | 551–559 | Ypsilometopo |
| 48 | Tryphena | F | 43 | Loc | LO | Inscr. | Gr | 6 | 551–559 | Ypsilometopo |
| 49 | Elpidios | M | 15 | Byz | Trav. | Hist. | Gr | 6 | 565 | Sigrión |
| 50 | Andreas | M | 5 | Loc | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 7 | 601–650 | Eresos? |
| 51 | Christodoulos b. of Mytilene | M | 62 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 7 | 650–699 | Mytilene |
| 52 | Andreas b. of Methymna | M | 54 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act. | Gr | 7 | 680/1 | Methymna |
| 53 | Gregorios metr. of Mytilene | M | 86 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 7 | 680/1 | Mytilene |
| 54 | Sisinnios b. of Mytilene | M | 138 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act- Seal | Gr | 7 | 691/2 | Mytilene |
| 55 | Georgios skribon & kommerkiarios | M | 84 | Byz | Off. | Seal | Gr | 7 | 690–691 | Lesbos |
| 56 | Theophylaktos b. of Methymna | M | 148 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 7 | 691/2 | Methymna |
| 57 | Hadrianos | M | 88 | Loc | M.Cl. | Hag. | Gr | 7 | 699/670–7 72/773 | Mytilene |
| 58 | Konstanto | F | 107 | Loc | M.Cl. | Hag. | Gr | 7 | 699/700 | Mytilene |
| 59 | Anon. monk on Lesbos | M | 162 | Loc | Mon. | Hag. | Gr | 8 | 717 | Mytilene |
| 60 | Andreas of Crete | M | 56 | Byz | Trav. | Hag. | Gr | 8 | 4/7/740 | Eresos |
| 61 | Georgios b. of Mytilene | M | 79 | Unk | Eccl. | Hag. | Gr | 8 | 701–741 | Mytilene |
| 62 | David saint | M | 67 | Loc | Mon. | Hag. | Gr | 8 | 717/8–783/ 4 | Mytilene |
| 63 | Georgios b. of Mytilene & saint | M | 80 | Loc | Eccl. | Hag. | Gr | 8 | 763/4–845/ 6 | Mytilene |
| 64 | Hilaria | F | 89 | Loc | Mon. | Hag. | Gr | 8 | 763/4– | Mytilene |
| 65 | Symeon the stylite saint | M | 144 | Loc | Mon. | Hag. | Gr | 8 | 764/5–844 | Mytilene |
| 66 | Georgios b. of Mytilene & saint | M | 81 | Byz | Eccl.- Mon. | Hag. | Gr | 8 | 776–821 | Mytilene |
| 67 | Leon dioiketes of Mytilene | M | 111 | Byz | Off. | Seal | Gr | 8 | 775–799 | Mytilene |
| 68 | Prokopios | M | 135 | Loc | Phys. | Hag. | Gr | 8 | 775–799 | Mytilene |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|-----|-----|--------|------------|----|----|---------------------|----------|
| 69 | Damianos b. of Mytilene | M | 65 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 8 | 13 Oct. 787 | Mytilene |
| 70 | Eustratios b. of Methymna | M | 75 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 8 | 787 | Methymna |
| 71 | Michael metr. of Mytilene | M | 119 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 9 | 801–899 | Mytilene |
| 72 | Demetrios dioiketes of Mytilene | M | 68 | Unk | Off. | Seal | Gr | 9 | 801–899 | Lesbos |
| 73 | Arsaber dioiketes of Mytilene | M | 57 | Byz | Off. | Seal | Gr | 9 | 801–849 | Lesbos |
| 74 | Eutaxios | M | 76 | Unk | Off. | Seal | Gr | 9 | 801–899 | Lesbos |
| 75 | Eirene | F | 70 | Byz | Exile | Hist. Hag. | Gr | 9 | Nov. 802–9 Aug. 803 | Lesbos |
| 76 | Anon. tax-collector of Lesbos | M | 168 | Unk | Off. | Hag. | Gr | 9 | 813 | Lesbos |
| 77 | Anon. pig-owner | M | 164 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | Gr | 9 | 814 | Mytilene |
| 78 | Anon. emissary of Leon V to Mytilene | M | 156 | Byz | Off. | Hag. | Gr | 9 | 815–820 | Mytilene |
| 79 | Leon b. of Mytilene | M | 110 | Unk | Eccl. | Hag. | Gr | 9 | 815– <i>a.</i> 843 | Mytilene |
| 80 | Anon. Loc. Aristocrat | M | 158 | Loc | LO | Hag. | Gr | 9 | 829–843 | Lesbos |
| 81 | Theoktiste of Lesbos | F | 147 | Loc | Mon. | Hag. | Gr | 9 | ca. 830 | Methymna |
| 82 | Anon. sister of Theoktiste of Lesbos | F | 166 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | Gr | 9 | ca. 830 | Methymna |
| 83 | Anon. brother-in-law of Theoktiste of Lesbos | M | 155 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | Gr | 9 | ca. 830 | Methymna |
| 84 | Anon. young boy taken prisoner | M | 169 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | Gr | 9 | 830–999 | Lesbos |
| 85 | Anon. strategos of Lesbos | M | 167 | Unk | Off. | Hag. | Gr | 9 | 843 | Mytilene |
| 86 | Michael metr. of Mytilene | M | 120 | Unk | Eccl. | Lit. | Gr | 9 | ca. 850 | Mytilene |
| 87 | Nisiris | M | 129 | E | Raider | Hag. | Gr | 9 | ca. 850 | Methymna |
| 88 | Nikolaos the Stoudite saint | M | 128 | Byz | Exile | Hag. | Gr | 9 | 858 | Lesbos |
| 89 | Ignatios patriarch of Constantino-ple & saint | M | 92 | Byz | Exile | Hag. Hist. | Gr | 9 | Aug. 859 | Lesbos |
| 90 | Christophoros presbyter from Mytilene | M | 63 | Loc | Eccl. | Hag. | Gr | 9 | 860 (or 10 c.) | Lesbos |
| 91 | Iakovos metr. of Methymna | M | 91 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | L | 9 | 867 | Methymna |
| 92 | Basileios metr. of Mytilene | M | 59 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 9 | 879 | Mytilene |
| 93 | Kale mother of St Thomaïs | F | 100 | Loc | M.Cl. | Hag. | Gr | 10 | 901–999 | Lesbos |
| 94 | Michael father of St. | M | 117 | Loc | M.Cl. | Hag. | Gr | 10 | 901–999 | Lesbos |

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| 95 | Thomaïs Stephanos husband of St. | M | 141 | Loc | M.Cl. | Hag. | Gr | 10 | 901–999 | Lesbos |
| 96 | Thomaïs or Thomae | F | 149 | Loc | M.Cl. | Hag. | Gr | 10 | 901–999 | Lesbos |
| 97 | Himerios, logothetes & admiral | M | 90 | Byz | Raider | Hist. | Gr | 10 | Oct. 911–Apr./ May 912 | Lesbos |
| 98 | Lakapenos Stephanos | M | 109 | Byz | Exile | Hist. | Gr | 10 | 945–948 & 948–963 | Mytilene- Methymna |
| 99 | Thomas metr. of Mytilene | M | 150 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 10 | 951–999 | Mytilene |
| 100 | Anon. executioner | M | 157 | Byz | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 10 | 969 | Methymna |
| 101 | Phokas Leon | M | 131 | Byz | Exile | Hist. | Gr | 10 | 969–971 | Methymna |
| 102 | Phokas | M | 132 | Byz | Exile | Hist. | Gr | 10 | 969–971 | Methymna |
| 103 | Nikephoros Ioannes ... (?), kourator of Mytilene | M | 94 | Unk | Off. | Seal | Gr | 11 | 1001–1099 | Lesbos |
| 104 | Thomas metr. of Mytilene | M | 151 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 11 | 1001–1099 | Mytilene |
| 105 | Anon. merchant | M | 159 | E | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 11 | 1001–1199 | Lesbos |
| 106 | Basileios b. of Eresos ? | M | 58 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 11 | 1001–1025 | Eresos |
| 107 | Konstantinos archb. of Methymna | M | 102 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 11 | 1001–1049 | Methymna |
| 108 | Neilos metr. of Mytilene (or Elias or David) | M | 124 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 11 | 1001–1049 | Mytilene |
| 109 | Anon. metr. of Mytilene | M | 161 | Unk | Eccl. | Hist. | Sl. | 11– 12 | 1001–1199 | Mytilene |
| 110 | Konstantinos So... | M | 106 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 11 | 1020–1035 | Lesbos |
| 111 | Euouranites Konstantinos | M | 72 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 11 | 1025–1050 | Lesbos |
| 112 | Konstantinos IX Monomachos | M | 105 | Byz | Exile | Hist. Hag. Lit. | Gr | 11 | 1034/1035 –1042 | Lesbos |
| 113 | Skleraina Maria | F | 139 | Byz | Exile | Hist. | Gr | 11 | 1034/1035 –1042 | Lesbos |
| 114 | Anon. monk of Mt. Galesion | M | 163 | Byz | Trav. | Hag. | Gr | 11 | 1042 | Lesbos |
| 115 | Ioannes orphano- trophos | M | 96 | Byz | Exile | Hist. | Gr | 11 | 12/6/1042– 1043 | Lesbos |
| 116 | Ioannes ostiarios, hebdomarios & anagrapheus | M | 97 | Unk | Off. | Seal | Gr | 11 | ca. 1050 | Lesbos |
| 117 | Philaretos archb. of Methymna | M | 130 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 11 | ca. 1050 | Methymna |
| 118 | Symeon patrikios protoanthy- patos, vestitor & kourator | M | 143 | Unk | Off. | Seal | Gr | 11 | ca. 1050 | Lesbos |

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| 119 | Konstantinos metr. of Mytilene | M | 103 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 11 | 1054 | Mytilene |
| 120 | Anon. metr. (?) of Methymna | M | 160 | Unk | Eccl. | Hist. | Gr | 11 | <i>a.</i> May 1082 | Methymna |
| 121 | Ioannes poimen of Mytilene | M | 98 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 11 | 1070–1099 | Mytilene |
| 122 | Nikephoros megas kourator | M | 125 | Unk | Off. | Seal | Gr | 11 | 1070–1080 | Lesbos |
| 123 | Georgios archb. of Methymna | M | 78 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 11 | 14 March 1072 | Methymna |
| 124 | Michael VII Doukas | M | 115 | Byz | Exile | Hist. | Gr | 11 | post 1078 | Lesbos |
| 125 | Alopos | M | 52 | Unk | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 11 | 1088–1089 | Mytilene |
| 126 | Tzachas | M | 153 | E | Raider | Hist. | Gr | 11 | End 1089–spring 1093 | Lesbos |
| 127 | Niketas metr. of Mytilene | M | 126 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 11 | <i>a.</i> Apr. 1089–end 1094/early 1095 | Mytilene |
| 128 | Boutoumites Manuel | M | 61 | Byz | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 11 | 1092 | Mytilene |
| 129 | Dalassenos Konstantinos | M | 64 | Byz | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 11 | 1091–1092 | Mytilene |
| 130 | Doukas Ioannes | M | 69 | Byz | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 11 | 1092 | Mytilene |
| 131 | Euphorbenos Alexandros | M | 74 | Byz | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 11 | spring 1092 | Mytilene |
| 132 | Galabatzes | M | 77 | E | Raider | Hist. | Gr | 11 | 1092 | Mytilene |
| 133 | [Anastasopoulina] Maria | F | 53 | Loc | LO | Hag. | Gr | 12 | 1101–1199 | Akorne |
| 134 | Anastasopoulos Georgios | M | 54 | Loc | LO | Hag. | Gr | 12 | 1101–1199 | Akorne |
| 135 | Gregorios of Assos, saint | M | 87 | Loc | Mon. | Hag. | Gr | 12 | 1101–1199 | Akorne-Mt Libanon & other places |
| 136 | Leon-Leontios of Assos | M | 112 | Byz | Mon. | Hag. | Gr | 12 | 1101–1199 | Mt Libanon-Mt Parasigion & other places |
| 137 | Thomas the eunuch | M | 152 | Loc | Low-class | Hist. | Gr | 12 | 1101–1199 | Lesbos |
| 138 | Machetarios | M | 113 | Unk | LO | Typikon | Gr | 12 | 1101–1149 | Lesbos |
| 139 | Ioannes metr. of Mytilene the first of the Manuelitai | M | 95 | Unk | Eccl.-Mon. | Seal | Gr | 12 | 1101–1150 | Mytilene |
| 140 | Saewulf | M | 136 | W | Trav. | Trav.'s Acc. | L | 12 | 1102–1103 | Lesbos |
| 141 | Daniel, Russian abbot & pilgrim | M | 66 | W | Trav. | Trav.'s Acc. | L | 12 | 1106–1107 | Lesbos |
| 142 | Michiel Domenico | M | 122 | W | Raider | Hist.-West. Chr. | Gr-L | 12 | early 1125 | Lesbos |
| 143 | Georgios metr. of Methymna | M | 82 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 12 | 30 Oct. 1143 | Methymna |
| 144 | Ioannes, deacon of | M | 93 | Unk | Eccl. | MS note | Gr | 12 | 1143–1180 | Methymna |

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| 145 | Methymna Kontostephanos | M | 108 | Byz | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 12 | spring 1148 | Methymna |
| 146 | Michael Bouches, metr. of Methymna | M | 116 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act-Seal | Gr | 12 | 1150–1160 | Methymna |
| 147 | Kalamotine Eirene | F | 99 | Loc | LO | Hag. | Gr | 12 | 1151–1199 | Loutra |
| 148 | Georgios Xilopoulos, b. of Methymna | M | 85 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 12 | Ca. mid-12 c. | Methymna |
| 149 | Michael from Leukopedin | M | 118 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | Gr | 12 | 1151–1199 | Leukopedin |
| 150 | Stephanos metr. of Mytilene | M | 142 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 12 | 1151–1199 | Mytilene |
| 151 | Theodoros Makrembolites, metr. of Methymna | M | 145 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 12 | 2 nd of 3 rd quarter of the 12 th c. | Methymna |
| 152 | Michael metr. of Methymna | M | 121 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 12 | 1157 | Methymna |
| 153 | Benjamin of Tudela | M | 160 | W | Trav. | Trav.'s Acc. | Gr | 12 | 1160–1163 | Mytilene |
| 154 | Nikolaos metr. of Methymna | M | 127 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 12 | 6 May 1166–July 1167 | Methymna |
| 155 | Pothos metr. of Mytilene | M | 134 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act-Seal | Gr | 12 | 1166/1167–24 March 1173 | Mytilene |
| 156 | Michiel Vitale II | M | 123 | W | Raider | Hist.-West. Chr. | Gr | 12 | spring 1172 | Lesbos |
| 157 | Theodoros metr. of Methymna | M | 146 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 12 | 24 March 1173–10 Jan. 1177 | Methymna |
| 158 | Konstantinos metr. of Mytilene | M | 104 | Unk | Eccl. | Seal | Gr | 12 | 1175–1199 | Mytilene |
| 159 | Komnenos Leon | M | 101 | Unk | Off. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 12 | May 1180 or 1195, Feb. 1192 or 1207 | Mon. of Hagios Menas of Kato Ptomaia (-oi) Mytilene |
| 160 | Pothos Aplesphares metr. of Mytilene | M | 133 | Unk | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 12 | May 1180 or 1195 | |
| 161 | Serbes Klausenos Ioannes | M | 137 | Unk | Off. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 12 | May 1180 or 1195, Febr. 1192 or 1207 | Mon. of Hagios Menas of Kato Ptomaia (-oi) |
| 162 | Xeros Manuel | M | 154 | Unk | Off. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 12 | May 1180 or 1195, Febr. 1192 or 1207 | Mon. of Hagios Menas of Kato Ptomaia (-oi) |
| 163 | Anon. relative of Isaakios II Angelos | M | 165 | Byz | Trav. | West. Chr. | L | 12 | Jan. 1204 | Lesbos |
| 164 | Asanes | M | 176 | Unk | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | 13 | 1204–1355 | Lesbos |
| 165 | Makarios | M | 234 | Loc | Mon. | MS note | Gr | 13 | 1201–1299 c. | Mantamados |
| 166 | Nikephoros metr. of Methymna | M | 243 | Unk | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | 1250–Nov. 1261 | Methymna |

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| 167 | Timotheos | M | 274 | Unk | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | 1201–1299 | Mon. of Hosios Gregorios & Aristai Mytilene |
| 168 | Magentenios Leon or Ioannes | M | 233 | Unk | Eccl. | MS note | Gr | 13 | 1201–1249 | |
| 169 | Anon. woman | F | 292 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | Gr | 13 | early 13 c. ? | Mon. of Hosios Gregorios |
| 170 | Komes | M | 222 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | Gr | 13 | early 13 c.? | Mon. of Hosios Gregorios |
| 171 | Ko(n)stantza from Pergamon | F | 224 | Byz | Trav. | Hag. | Gr | 13 | early 13 c. | Mon. of Hosios Gregorios |
| 172 | Ioannes archb. of Mytilene | M | 209 | W | Eccl. | West. Chr. | L | 13 | 1205 | Mytilene |
| 173 | Ioannes archib. of Mytilene | M | 200 | W | Eccl. | Papal Doc. | L | 13 | Nov. 1215 (27 Feb. & 9 Mar. 1222)–20 Apr. 1240 | Mytilene |
| 174 | Anon. metr. of Mytilene I | M | 284 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 13 | Monday 9 May 1216–Friday 19 Aug. 1216 | Mytilene |
| 175 | Theodoros, metr. of Mytilene | M | 270 | Unk | Eccl. | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 13 | Wednesday , 19 March 1224 | Mytilene |
| 176 | Ioannes III Doukas Vatatzes | M | 207 | Byz | Imp. | Hist.-West. Chr. | Gr-L | 13 | 1225 | Lesbos |
| 177 | Blemmydes Nikephoros | M | 182 | Byz | Trav. | Lit. | Gr | 13 | 1231 (?) | Lesbos |
| 178 | Iohannes archb. of Mytilene | M | 211 | W | Eccl. | eccl. Doc. | L | 13 | 1238 | Mytilene |
| 179 | Lazaros | M | 229 | Loc | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | 1251–1299 | Eresos |
| 180 | Theodoros, b. of Eresos | M | 269 | Unk | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | 1251–1299 | Eresos |
| 181 | Thomopoulos | M | 273 | Loc | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | 1251–1299 | Eresos |
| 182 | Michael metr. of Methymna II | M | 245 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 13 | July 1250 | Methymna |
| 183 | Ioseph metr. of Mytilene | M | 214 | Unk | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | <i>a.</i> 1256 | Mytilene |
| 184 | Maximos the monk | M | 244 | Unk | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | 1254/1264 – <i>a.</i> 1324 | Mytilene |
| 185 | Gidon | M | 201 | Unk | LO | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | 1256–1267 | Theotokos Hodegetria |
| 186 | Gregorios metr. of Mytilene | M | 202 | Unk | Eccl. | Hist.-Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | 1256– <i>p.</i> 1267 | Mytilene |
| 187 | Sabarios Sabastos | M | 263 | Loc | Unk | Hag. | L | 13 | 1258 | Lesbos |
| 188 | Anon. abbot of the mon. of Aristai | M | 281 | Loc | Mon. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | <i>a.</i> Nov. 1261 | Mon. of Aristai |
| 189 | Anon. b. of Ger(r)a | M | 282 | Unk | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | <i>a.</i> Nov. 1261 | Gera |
| 190 | Kyritzes | M | 227 | Unk | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | <i>a.</i> Nov. 1261 | Mon. of Hosios |

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| | | | | | | | | | | Gregorios & Aristai |
| 191 | Michael VIII Palaiologos | M | 246 | Byz | Imp. | West. Chr. | Ar. | 13 | 1261 (<i>a.</i> 26 July) | Lesbos |
| 192 | Pachymeres Georgios | M | 252 | Byz | Trav. | Hist. | Gr | 13 | May 1265 | Mytilene |
| 193 | Barberius Ioannes | M | 293 | W | Merchant | Sec. Doc. | L | 13 | 6 January 1274 | Lesbos |
| 194 | Benfato Martinus | M | 294 | W | Merchant | Sec. Doc. | L | 13 | 6 January 1274 | Lesbos |
| 195 | Franzonus Johannes | M | 295 | W | Merchant | Sec. Doc. | L | 13 | 6 January 1274 | Lesbos |
| 196 | Griti Boninus | M | 296 | W | Merchant | Sec. Doc. | L | 13 | 6 January 1274 | Lesbos |
| 197 | Pelegrinus Antonius | M | 297 | W | Merchant | Sec. Doc. | L | 13 | 6 January 1274 | Lesbos |
| 198 | Rasorius Dominicus | M | 298 | W | Merchant | Sec. Doc. | L | 13 | 6 January 1274 | Lesbos |
| 199 | Palaiologos Ioannes | M | 254 | Byz | LO | Hist. | Gr | 13 | <i>a.</i> 1272 | Lesbos |
| 200 | Demetrios Eirenikos metr. of Mytilene | M | 189 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 13 | 1285 | Mytilene |
| 201 | Anon. patriarchal exarch | M | 287 | Byz | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 13 | 1285–1310 | Mon. of Hosios Georgios |
| 202 | Ioannes metr. of Mytilene | M | 212 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 13 | end of 13 c. (1285 or 1300) | Mytilene |
| 203 | Cholos Manuel | M | 186 | Byz | Merchant | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 13–14 | 1288 or 1317 | Mytilene |
| 204 | Zacharias Georgios | M | 280 | Byz | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 13–14 | 1288 or 1317 | Mytilene |
| 205 | de Lluria Roger | M | 231 | W | Raider | West. Chr. | Cat | 13–14 | summer 1292 | Lesbos |
| 206 | Kyrillos metr. of Sardis | M | 226 | Byz | Eccl. | Epist. | Gr | 13–14 | betw. 1298–1315, poss. 1305 | Methymna |
| 207 | Anon. metr. of Mytilene II | M | 285 | Unk | Eccl. | Typikon | Gr | 13 | <i>a.</i> 1300 | Mytilene |
| 208 | Anon. tax-collector of L. de Flor | M | 291 | Byz | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 14 | summer 1304 | Mytilene |
| 209 | Roger | M | 195 | W | Raider | Hist. | Gr | 14 | summer 1304 | Mytilene |
| 210 | Machrames | M | 232 | Byz | Trav. | Hist. | Gr | 14 | summer 1304 | Mytilene |
| 211 | Gennadios | M | 198 | Loc | Mon. | MS note | Gr | 14 | 1301–1399 ? | Lesbos |
| 212 | Moschopoulos Nikephoros | M | 247 | Byz | Eccl. | Epist. | Gr | 14 | <i>a.</i> 1305 | Methymna |
| 213 | Bestarches | M | 181 | Byz | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 14 | 1301–1315 | Mytilene |
| 214 | Theoleptos the monk | M | 272 | Byz | Trav. | Hag. | Gr | 14 | early 14 c. – <i>p.</i> 1323 | Lesbos |
| 215 | Andreas [Paloumpas] | M | 171 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 216 | Andreas, son of Thomas | M | 172 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 217 | Andriotes | M | 173 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |

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| 218 | Anna, wife of Panagiotes | F | 175 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 219 | Balarides | M | 179 | Loc | Unk | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 220 | Chabaronissa | F | 185 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 221 | Choniates Nikephoros | M | 187 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 222 | Demetrios, son of Andreas [Paloumpas] | M | 190 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 223 | Doites Konstantinos | M | 192 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 224 | Eirene, daughter of Tzagaris Georgios | F | 194 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 225 | Georgios | M | 199 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 226 | Georgios, son of Choniates Nikephoros | M | 200 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 227 | Hyphantes Manuel | M | 206 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 228 | Kale, daughter of Keladites Ioannes | F | 211 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 229 | Kale, wife of Doites Konstantinos | F | 217 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 230 | Kale, wife of Tzagaris Georgios | F | 218 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 231 | Keladites Ioannes | M | 221 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 232 | Kometanos Georgios | M | 223 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 233 | Krebbatas | M | 225 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 234 | Maleades | M | 236 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 235 | Maria, daughter of Georgios Tzagaris | F | 236 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 236 | Maria, wife of Andreas of Thomas | F | 238 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 237 | Maria, wife of Andreas [Paloumpas?] | F | 239 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |

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| 238 | Maria, wife of Choniates Nikephoros | F | 240 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 239 | Maria, wife of Ouranos Georgios | F | 241 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 240 | Niketas, son of Keladites Ioannes | M | 249 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 241 | Ouranos Georgios | M | 251 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 242 | Paloumpas Thomas | M | 255 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 243 | Panagiotes | M | 256 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 244 | Theodora, wife of Keladites Ioannes | F | 268 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 245 | Tzagaris Georgios | M | 276 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 246 | Tzagaris Niketas | M | 277 | Loc | TF | Sec. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Sept. 1306, 1321 or 1336 | Agiassos |
| 247 | Sabas the Younger, saint | M | 264 | Byz | Trav. | Hag. | Gr | 14 | 1308–1309 | Lesbos |
| 248 | Dionysios metr. of Mytilene | M | 191 | Loc | Eccl. | Lit.-Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 14 | 1315–1327 | Mytilene |
| 249 | Theodosios ek prosopou of the metr. of Mytilene | M | 271 | Loc | Eccl. | Lit. | Gr | 14 | 1315–1327 | Mytilene |
| 250 | Tornikes Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos | M | 275 | Byz | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 14 | 1327 | Lesbos |
| 251 | Malachias metr. of Methymna | M | 235 | Loc | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc.-Syn. Act | Gr | 14 | 1315–1347 | Methymna |
| 252 | Constancius de Mothone | M | 188 | Byz | Merchant | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | 6 May 1321 | Lesbos |
| 253 | Kanaboutzes | M | 220 | Unk | Off. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 14 | <i>a.</i> 1324 | Mytilene |
| 254 | Philanthropenos Michael | M | 259 | Byz | Off. | Lit. | Gr | 14 | 1325 | Lesbos |
| 255 | Anon. monk, disciple of St Gregorios of Sinai | M | 286 | Byz | Trav. | Hag. | Gr | 14 | 1326 | Mt Libanon |
| 256 | Gregorios of Sinai, saint | M | 204 | Byz | Trav. | Hag. | Gr | 14 | 1326 | Mt Libanon |
| 257 | Kallistos I | M | 219 | Byz | Trav. | Hag. | Gr | 14 | 1326 | Mt Libanon |
| 258 | Laskaris Manuel | M | 228 | Byz | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 14 | 1327 | Lesbos |
| 259 | Matthaios the scribe | M | 243 | Loc | Mon. | MS note | Gr | 14 | 1327 | Lesbos |
| 260 | Gregorios, | M | 203 | Byz | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 14 | 1329–1331 | Mytilene |

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|-----|--|---|-----|-----|--------|--------------------------|----------|----|--|---------------------------------|
| | metr. of Sardis & proedros of Mytilene | | | | | | | | | |
| 261 | Anon. | M | 288 | Loc | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 14 | a Friday of Apr. 1331 | Methymna |
| 262 | protekdikos Anon. | M | 289 | Loc | Eccl. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 14 | a Friday of Apr. 1331 | Methymna |
| 263 | sakellarios Anon. monks from Consta- ntinople | M | 290 | Loc | Mon. | Eccl. Doc. | Gr | 14 | Friday (5,12,19, 26) Apr. 1331 | Methymna? |
| 264 | Umur Pasha I | M | 278 | E | Raider | Hist. Lit. | Gr T. | 14 | 1332,1335 –1336 | Lesbos |
| 265 | Cattaneo Domenico, olium de Volta | M | 184 | W | Raider | Hist. | Gr | 14 | 1333/1334 –1336 | Mytilene- Kallone |
| 266 | de Begali, Iohanees | M | 180 | W | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | 20 Sept. 1334 | Mytilene |
| 267 | Gainfia di Finale, Antonio fu Buonafede | M | 196 | W | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | 20 Sept. 1334 | Mytilene |
| 268 | di Portu Rinaldo | M | 261 | W | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | 20 Sept. 1334 | Mytilene |
| 269 | de Rollando | M | 262 | W | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | 20 Sept. 1334 | Mytilene |
| 270 | Ianotus Tarigo Giulano | M | 267 | W | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | 20 Sept. 1334 | Mytilene |
| 271 | Sanudo Niccolo I of Naxos | M | 265 | W | Raider | Hist. | Gr | 14 | 1334–1335 | Mytilene |
| 272 | de Villeneuve Helion | M | 279 | W | Raider | Hist. | Gr | 14 | 1334–1335 | Mytilene |
| 273 | Andronikos III | M | 174 | Byz | Imp. | Hist. | Gr | 14 | 1335–1336 | Eresos- Kallone- Mytilene |
| 274 | Palaiologos de Spinia Juan | M | 266 | W | Off. | Hist. | Gr | 14 | autumn of 1335 | Mytilene |
| 275 | Philanthro- penos Alexios Doukas | M | 258 | Byz | Off. | Hist. Epist. | Gr | 14 | 1336 | Mytilene |
| 276 | Asanes Michael Komnenos Tornikes Palaiologos | M | 177 | Byz | Off. | Lit. | Gr | 14 | 1342–1355 | Lesbos |
| 277 | [Asanina] Eirene | F | 178 | Byz | Off. | Lit. | Gr | 14 | 1342–1355 | Lesbos |
| 278 | Anon. logothetes & visitor to Mytilene | M | 285 | Byz | Trav. | Lit. | Gr | 14 | Feb., <i>a.</i> 1355, probably 1345/46? | Mytilene |
| 279 | Paradeissas Makarios | M | 257 | Byz | Trav. | Lit. | Gr | 14 | Feb., <i>a.</i> 1355, probably 1345/46? | Mytilene |
| 280 | Philippus metr. of Mytilene | M | 260 | W | Eccl. | Sec. Doc.- Papal Doc. | L | 14 | 11 July 1345–1355 | Mytilene |
| 281 | Cancellieri Federico | M | 183 | W | Raider | West. Chr. | L | 14 | 10 Feb. 1346 | Lesbos |
| 282 | Humbert, | M | 205 | W | Raider | West. Chr. | L | 14 | <i>a.</i> and <i>p.</i> 10 | Lesbos |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|---|-----|-----|-------|------------------|------|----|--------------------------------------|----------|
| | dauphin of Viennois | | | | | | | | Feb. 1346 | |
| 283 | Vignoso Simone | M | 299 | W | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | post 20 Sep. 1346 | Lesbos |
| 284 | Markianos metr. of Mytilene | M | 242 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 14 | July, Aug., Sept. 1347 | Mytilene |
| 285 | Doria Paganino | M | 193 | W | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | 17 Oct. 1351–3 | Sigrion |
| 286 | Ottone Tommaso | M | 250 | W | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | Nov. 1351 17 Oct. 1351–3 | Sigrion |
| 287 | Lecavella Simone | M | 230 | W | Trav. | Sec. Doc. | L | 14 | Nov. 1351 11, 25, 29, & 30 Nov. 1351 | Sigrion |
| 288 | Ioannes metr. of Mytilene IV | M | 213 | W | Eccl. | Papal Doc. | L | 14 | 5 Dec. 1353–a. 14 Nov. 1375 | Mytilene |
| 289 | Ioannes V Palaiologos | M | 208 | Byz | Imp. | Hist. | Gr | 14 | early spring of 1354 | Lesbos |
| 290 | Ioseph metr. of Mytilene | M | 215 | Unk | Eccl. | Syn. Act | Gr | 14 | 30 June 1354 & 17 Aug. 1355 | Mytilene |
| 291 | Gattilluso (Gattelusi) Francesco | M | 197 | W | Off. | Hist.-West. Chr. | Gr-L | 14 | 17 July 1355 | Lesbos |
| 292 | Palaiologina Maria or Eirene | F | 253 | Byz | Imp. | Hist.-West. Chr. | Gr-L | 14 | 17 July 1355 | Lesbos |
| 293 | Ablabios | M | 51 | Unk | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | | middle period? | Lesbos |
| 294 | Erpis or Elpis | M | 71 | Loc | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | | middle period ? | Lesbos |
| 295 | Euphemia | F | 73 | Unk | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | | middle period ? | Lesbos |
| 296 | Georgios of Mytilene | M | 83 | Unk | Eccl. | Lit. | Gr | | middle period ? | Mytilene |
| 297 | Maria | F | 114 | Loc | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | | middle period ? | Lesbos |
| 298 | Staurakios | M | 160 | Loc | Unk | Inscr. | Gr | | middle period ? | Lesbos |
| 299 | Anon. young women | F | 170 | Unk | Unk | Hag. | Gr | | Uncertain | Lesbos |

Abbreviations used:

Anon. = Anonymous, metr. = metropolitan, b. = bishop, archb. = archbishop

F = Female, M = Male

Byz = Byzantine, E = Easterener, Loc = Local, Unk = unknown, W = Westerner

Eccl. = Ecclesiastic, Imp. = Imperial, L.Cl. = Low-class, LO = Landowner, M.Cl. = Middle-class, Mon. = Monastic, Off. = Official, TF = Tenant-Farmer, Trav. = Traveler

Epist. = Epistolography, Eccl. Doc. = Ecclesiastical Document, Eccl. Hist. = Ecclesiastical Historiography, Hag. = Hagiography, Hist. = Historiography, Inscr. = Inscription, Lit. = Literature, MS note = Manuscript note, Papal Doc. = Papal Document, Phys. = Physician, Sec. Doc. = Secular Document, Syn. Act = Synodal Act, West. Chr. = Western Chronicle.

Ar = Aragonese, Cat = Catalan, Gr = Greek, L = Latin, Syr = Syriac, Sl = Slavonic, T = Turkish.

a. = ante, p. = post

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References with an asterisk (*) refer to the page number of the introduction; references with no asterisk refer to the entry number of the prosopography. Not included in the index are: the very frequent names Constantinople, Lesbos, Mytilene, Methymna, and Theotokos (except for monasteries in her honor); all individuals with their own entries, even if they appear in other entries (except emperors); and no sources or authors of sources when they are mentioned as such.

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